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23 MAY 1986

## **Near East/South Asia Report**



**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

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23 MAY 1986

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

AZNAVOUR COMMENTS ON RELATIONS WITH TURKEY, SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Lyon FRANCE-ARMENIE in French No 44 Mar 86 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Charles Aznavour, singer, by Ago Ozinian; date and location of interview not specified. First two paragraphs are editor's comments, signed "V.M."]

[Text] Charles Aznavour occupies a special position in our community. He can be said to be the first Armenian ever to have reached a level of international popularity and esteem in his profession. We have every reason to be proud of him, all the more so because he has never hidden his origins and has taken public positions on the Armenian Cause. The song "They Have Fallen" that one would like to hear more often over the airwaves. We also remember his proposals that he be "the mediator" with the Turks. That initiative undoubtedly came too early, when the political organizations were not yet convinced of the timeliness of such a step. During the trial of the "four" and very recently he gave moral support to the Armenian prisoners with sincerity and courage. Despite all of this, Charles Aznavour leaves the Armenian militants with a feeling of frustration. We should like him to commit himself further to communicating the Armenian Cause, but are we doing what is necessary for that to happen? Let us not forget that he is first of all an artist and not a politician; one really feels that on that subject he is not at ease and that blockages persist, which he himself admits.

In this month of March, Charles Aznavour is opening in France at the Grand Ecliquier; we are publishing here the interview he granted to FRANCE-ARMENIE, nevertheless pointing out the surprise he had in reserve for us: his daughter Seta, who lives in the U.S., sings in Armenian. Proving that the new generations still have surprises for us.

FRANCE-ARMENIE: Charles Aznavour, tell us about your plans?

Charles Aznavour: You know, I've had plans all my life. It's my opinion that one has plans at 20; you have your whole life ahead of you, you dream, you hope. You can have a precise idea and if it isn't realized, you aren't disappointed because you can do something else in its place. So plans are like life, they go. Having said that, yes of course, I have lots of them: a film (which I will start on in the middle of March), a record, an album for the opening and plenty of other things.

FRANCE-ARMENIE: Have you any artistic plans that have anything to do with the Armenian world?

Charles Aznavour: No, I don't have any, except for a trip to Armenia. I have done a song about the Armenians. I will not do a second one. I waited a very long time to do it and I believe it is a very beautiful song. It is better to do one good one than three or four that don't mean much. My daughter is making a record in Armenian. She made her debut in the United States a short time ago and it is going well. She is going to the Grand Echiquier on 12 March and she will sing a song in Armenian there.

FRANCE-ARMENIE: Do your children speak Armenian?

Charles Aznavour: Only the oldest one speaks it, because she has been in contact with her grandparents. My little ones don't speak it. They say two words here, three words there, but it doesn't go much farther than "intchbess", "echou tsak" or "batchig", it's automatic with words like that. The youngest sometimes asks me to show him "the letters the Armenians have that the French don't have". but that's not the same as speaking Armenian, because there are people who, even though they speak the language, don't concern themselves with the Community, while my little ones are nonetheless close to their roots.

FRANCE-ARMENIE: Does your wife concern herself with the Armenians?

Charles Aznavour: Of course, but she says one thing that is very true: "I speak up for anything Armenian, but if you were Iranian I would speak up for Iran."

FRANCE-ARMENIE: You are going to preside at the Gala for Armenian Political Prisoners on March 2.

Charles Aznavour: I have accepted the honorary chairmanship, but I will not be present. I have never said no to anything that concerns the Armenians, but that doesn't mean that I am always in agreement with what they are doing. I don't like violence.

FRANCE-ARMENIE: You don't like violence, but do you make a distinction between Orly-type attacks, which everyone condemns, and "targeted" attacks aimed at representatives of the Turkish government?

Charles Aznavour: If it could accomplish anything, I would probably revise my judgment, but look: the Turks are in NATO and they are only asking to enter the European Community. Why do you expect someone to give up enormous political interests for the benefit of a little people like ours? From my point of view an attempt at rapprochement should be made with good will on both sides, especially the intellectuals, so that a real dialogue can be started, little by little. There is a lot of educating to be done, to teach the Turks of the new generation the truth about the Armenians. I am striving to the best of my ability, because I don't refuse to meet with the Turks, to dine with them or go out with them, because that's the only way for me to make them face reality. And there are some of them who are honest and who understand.



FRANCE-ARMENIE: Over the last 2 years we have seen an extraordinary emergence of songs promoting the fight against cancer, world famine, etc. The world of show business is an important sounding board; are you prepared to do something like that for any charity, no matter what it might be?

Charles Aznavour: But what does anyone know about me? Maybe I am one of those people who are busy with charities without making any noise. I am solicited a lot wherever I go; I believe I have paid my dues. But what is closest to my heart is the orphaned children, the children of war, the child prostitutes, the children abandoned in Brazil by the tens of thousands, the handicapped children, children who are raped, stolen, etc. I have chosen to participate in the charitable projects involving them. And then, as you know, I like the Mekhitarians and I help them, too.

FRANCE-ARMENIE: The Armenians are planning to build schools for the children, but are running into financial difficulties. What do you think about this?

Charles Aznavour: It has to be explained to the Armenians that the future of their culture actually depends on the children and the schools. If every Armenian gave 100 francs, many of the problems would be solved. Or better still: why not collect the money by appealing to wealthy Armenians and put that money where it will yield a profit? In other words, create capital and distribute the profits to charity. We are no longer in the times of bakshish or tipping. In a modern century, you have to know how to adopt modern methods. Look at America's Armenians: their associations are very well organized, they never do anything without a reason and they collect a lot of money. Here, we don't manage well, because we live under the French influence, and the French don't know how to organize, that's well known

FRANCE-ARMENIE: What does it mean to you to feel like an Armenian?

Charles Aznavour: I have always said: Armenia is my religion and France is my homeland. One can't separate his culture from his roots. If we hadn't been a persecuted race, I believe that I would no longer be an Armenian. I would carry on my profession and that would be all. What I would like is to have a united country where grandmothers wouldn't cry any more, and at that moment I would feel at peace. Let's hope it will arrive. We must always think it will arrive.

8946

CSO: 4619/33

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN ISSUE REPORTEDLY DISCUSSED AT OZAL-CHIRAC MEETING

Turkish Weekly Reports Chirac's Remarks

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 5 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] In its 30 March 1986 edition, the weekly NOKTA carries a report entitled "Two Prime Ministers; A Candid Conversation" detailing the highlights of a meeting held in Paris between Prime Minister Turgut Ozal and Jacques Chirac before the latter's election as France's Prime Minister. While visiting Paris in November Ozal met with Jacques Chirac who was the leader of the strongest opposition party at the time. Below we present an excerpt from that meeting where Chirac expresses his thoughts on his stance toward Turkey and the Armenian question.

Chirac: We are strong as an opposition party. We will win a majority in the March elections.

Ozal: Do not ever be so sure. Continue working very hard.

Chirac: We are very close to the Motherland Party. We have instructed our parliamentarians to support Turkey in the Council of Europe and the European Parliament. We wholeheartedly support your decision to enter the European Democratic Union. We see Turkey differently from those who are in power today. We would like to balance our foreign relations. In the past our foreign relations favored Greece. That is the case today, but we do not consider Greece to be serious. We want to develop our relations with Turkey. We must find a solution the Armenian problem whose cause I do not understand. A few hundred thousand Armenians must not disrupt our relations. These are not terrorists. They have been in this country for generations. They have become Frenchmen, and they vote for me. We find the present government's lax attitude toward terrorism unacceptable. Our foreign policy will change together with the government. We are against any form of terrorism. This government does not have a stance on the issue of terrorism committed against Turkey.

Ozal: If a genocide has been committed then it was committed in the West as well. After the war Istanbul was occupied. The occupying powers set up courts and seized all the archives. And this happened only 3 years after the alleged events. They worked for months, and they could find neither any evidence nor any witnesses. How is it possible to find nonexistent evidence or witnesses?

Chirac: Whether it has happened or not does not make any difference to us. In any case, if you only knew the things that happened in Europe. This is an issue that concerns historians not politicians.

Ozal: We are about to open our archives for examination. All of them will be microfilmed. Any historian who wishes to examine them may come and do so.

Chirac: I cannot spend a single penny for the study of an alleged genocide.

Ozal: Today, in general, we have no problems with the Armenians. But we have a major problem with terrorists. We lost many victims in the last 12 years. We did not have that before, and now they want to debate what happened in 1915. Let us not forget that this issue is being exploited in order to disturb Turkey. Let me ask you another question: If you win the election, what will be the position of the current president?

Chirac: That is not my problem. That is his problem.

#### Armenians Demand Explanation From Chirac

Paris GAMK in Armenian and French 12 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] After giving it lengthy consideration we decided to publish this article in the "Day to Day" column. What we had in mind was an "open letter to Jacques Chirac" so that he can either confirm or deny the contents of a report entitled "A Few Hundred Thousand Armenians Must not Disrupt Our Relations" published in the 30 March 1986 edition of the Turkish weekly NOKTA.

The said weekly carries a report about a meeting which took place last November between Jacques Chirac, then the mayor of Paris and the main opposition leader, and Turkey's Prime Minister Turgut Ozal. At the time Ozal was on a private visit to Paris. During that visit Ozal did not meet any officials except Chirac.

NOKTA quotes excerpts from a "candid" conversation between the two politicians. During the conversation Chirac expresses his stance on relations with Turkey and the Armenian question.

According to NOKTA, on the issue of relations with Turkey Chirac told Ozal that his stand is different from that of Prime Minister Laurent Fabius' government, which was in office at the time. He reportedly stated: "Those relations favored Greece. That is the case today, but we do not consider Greece to be serious.

Are these remarks by the current prime minister true, or has NOKTA conducted a Turkish-style "expose"? This is a question which must be answered by the new prime minister. However, we cannot believe NOKTA's information because Prime Minister Chirac is a political personality who would not express his stance toward Greece in such crude terms even if he has that conviction.

Furthermore, is it true that Prime Minister Chirac said that his party is close to Ozal's Motherland Party as NOKTA claims? Is it true that De Gaulle's

successor has instructed his parliamentarians in the European Parliament to support Turkey's position? Does Chirac support Turkey's membership in the EEC? According to NOKTA, the winner of the French elections on 16 March made such statements during his meeting with Ozal. That is why a heading of "open letter" would be very appropriate.

With respect to the second issue of the said meeting, the Armenian question, NOKTA attributes even more controversial remarks to Prime Minister Chirac.

Thus, according to NOKTA, Chirac said: "We must find a solution to the Armenian problem whose cause I do not understand (our emphasis--editor)." Is it true that Prime Minister Chirac does not know the causes of the Armenian question which consists of the recognition of the Armenian genocide and appropriate reparations to the Armenian people? We are sure that Chirac is very well aware of the essence of the Armenian question, if only because one of the deputies from his party elected to parliament on 16 March was Patrick Devedjian, a son of the Armenian nation who has promised to defend the Armenian cause in the French parliament.

According to NOKTA, Chirac also said: "Whether (the genocide) has happened or not does not make any difference to us... I cannot spend a single penny for the study of an alleged genocide."

Is this a Turkish-style "expose" or is it the truth? That once again justifies the use of the heading "open letter" because confirming or denying this report are the prime minister's only choices since he is in the best position to know the contents of that "candid" conversation. After all he was Ozal's counterpart in that conversation.

In any event we expect the prime minister to confirm or to deny these revelations made by NOKTA directly or indirectly.

We will talk about Ozal's remarks during the conversation in our tomorrow's edition.

9588

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ALGERIA

IBRAHIMI ATTENDS NONALIGNED MEETING IN NEW DELHI

Addresses Session On Peace Development

PM291207 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 20 Apr 86 p 6

[APS report: "The Policy of Nonalignment Is a Factor of Balance, Stability, and Peace"]

[Excerpts] New Delhi -- Dr Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi, member of the Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, made a statement on Thursday [17 April] at the ministerial meeting of the Nonaligned Movement Coordination Bureau, which was held in the Indian capital from 16 to 19 April 1986.

"Mr Chairman,

"On both the question of peace and the question of development, the nonaligned movement has adopted a clear and constant attitude in its call for the establishment of a global system of real collective security and the establishment of a new international economic order. In the turbulent and troubled world in which we live, these two calls have lost none of their urgency and appropriateness.

"If it has not been possible to design and establish a system of collective security on a world scale, it is not for want of numerous initiatives by our movement to bring about general and complete disarmament in particular or the establishment of the regional and global conditions required for the establishment of such a system.

"If it has not been possible to improve the organization of the world through the establishment of a new international economic order, it is not for want of constant efforts by our movement, striving in particular to implement the declaration and action program relating to the new international economic order, to ensure respect for the Charter of Rights [as published] and the economic duties of states, and to launch global negotiations and convene an international conference on currency and finances. If the last vestiges of the colonial era remain so strong in some regions, it is not for want of our movement's having always pointed in a straightforward way to ways and means of completing decolonization.



"If local or regional conflicts and tensions remain, sometimes because of actions by some of its own members, it is not for want of efforts by our movement to establish dialogue, good-neighborly relations, and the peaceful settlement of disputes as cardinal principles of nonaligned policy."

#### Safeguarding and Consolidating the Nonaligned Movement

"Is it therefore necessary to stress that nonaligned policy has been and remains a undoubted factor of balance, stability, and peace in international relations. Even if that were to be nonalignment's only merit, it should be safeguarded and consolidated. In international relations, the nonaligned movement is facing new challenges which it cannot take up without more effective action and without a greater role in running world affairs.

"In this connection our thinking and our steps should take the following directions:

1 -- "In view of the fact that the exacerbation of world tension is accompanied by a revival of the policies of spheres of influence and the search for strategic outposts, it is all the more necessary for those who belong to our movement to strictly observe the first principle which unites us within this movement, in other words the rejection of military, political, or strategic subjection and obedience which, in the present context, can only have the effect of increasing tension and on that basis undermining the balancing and stabilizing contribution our movement makes to international relations.

2 -- "Protecting our countries against the harmful political and economic effects of the world climate requires unity in our ranks, the mobilization of our resources, and the intensification of cooperation among us.

3 -- "Ensuring the effectiveness and presence of our movement, so that its action is in keeping with all that we represent in world affairs, presupposes that we think about and decide on measures likely to provide it with the resources and mechanisms which will guarantee this effectiveness and presence.

4 -- "With regard to both disarmament, and collective security, and development, is becoming increasingly necessary to translate our ideas and proposals into platforms for practical action; it must be possible to find appropriate ways of responding to this need. From this viewpoint an interministerial committee dealing with various aspects of international economic cooperation is a positive step in the desired direction."

#### The Intrusion of Violence Into the Mediterranean

"Mr Chairman,

"Referring to the return to the policy of force, we cannot fail to mention here the brutal intrusion of force into the Mediterranean.

"For all those who have never had any other ambition than to restore this cradle of civilization to its vocation as a focus for trade and a meeting

point for peoples and nations, the intrusion of violence into the Mediterranean is intolerable and unacceptable.

"Yesterday fraternal Tunisia suffered Zionism aggression, today Libya has twice suffered U.S. aggression.

"Algeria condemns the deliberate act of aggression against the fraternal Libyan Jamahiriyyah and pays tribute to the sacrifices made by Tripoli and Benghazi, which have just taken their places in the illustrious line of cities martyred for the sake of the Arab nation's dignity and honor. In these painful and tragic circumstances, Algeria shows solidarity with the fraternal Libyan people who, as the Algerian people will never forget -- and I am anxious to stress this here -- provided refuge, help, and comfort during the trials of their liberation war.

"If there is a conclusion to be drawn -- and it should be drawn -- from the tragic, aggressive use of force in the Mediterranean, it is that our work to turn this region into a zone of peace and cooperation is now more urgent and important than ever. This tragedy has just given additional legitimacy and justification to all our sustained appeals to liberate the Mediterranean from all foreign military presence and rid it of all foreign armed forces.

"The southern African peoples and the Palestinian people are also experiencing the effects of brute force and the negation of law.

"Indeed, the South African and Namibian peoples are experiencing the oppressive reality of colonial and racial domination, just as the frontline countries are experiencing intimidation, insecurity, and instability turned into tools of destabilization by the apartheid system.

"The radical system [as published] can offer southern Africa the conditions for freedom and peace.

"Algeria is convinced that by the virtues of its own people's struggle under SWAPO's leadership, accompanied by the unanimous will of the international community, Namibia will be independent and no outside distortion or institutional maneuvers will be able to defeat this irresistible force, which embodies the progress of independence in this territory. The same force embodies the South African people's heroic struggle to impose the restoration of their national rights in their homeland.

"Apartheid, which resists change, can and must be punished for what it is -- a crime against humanity. It is to this end that the Nonaligned Movement must continue to work, especially with a view to the forthcoming international conference on sanctions against South Africa and the two conferences convened on the subject of Namibia at Africa's request.

"In the Middle East, the full and effective satisfaction of the Palestinian people's national rights remains the essential precondition for peace in this region. Since the Palestinian question is at the very heart of the Middle East crisis, no solution is viable or credible if it ignores or distorts it.

"In this context, a conference under UN auspices involving all the sides concerned, particularly the PLO, on an equal footing and with the aim of enabling the Palestinian people to establish their own independent and sovereign state on their historic land remains the inevitable path to the just and lasting settlement which is being sought.

#### West Sahara: Faith in the Capacity of International Consensus

"Mr Chairman,

"The nonaligned movement has adopted a clear stance with regard to the West Sahara conflict, identifying in it a process of decolonization to be completed on the basis of the realization of the right of that territory's people to self-determination and independence.

"At the same time our movement has given a clear verdict on ways and means of finally settling this conflict by fully supporting the international will expressed by the unanimous adoption of resolution 104 of the 19th OAU summit by the whole international community.

"Algeria is motivated by faith in the capacity of the African consensus, which has become an international consensus, to bring about the long-awaited settlement and promote accord and harmony between the fraternal Moroccan and West Saharan peoples.

"It is in this spirit that my country welcomes the recent joint initiative by the current OAU chairman and the UN secretary general and encourages these well-intentioned people to continue their efforts to live up to the hopes which the Maghreb, Africa, and the whole international community place in them.

"Just as the start of the Iraq-Iran conflict troubled my country, its persistence and current escalation worry and distress it. The innocent lives this conflict is destroying, the terrible damage it is causing, the resources it is squandering, and the essential funds needed for building which are being used for insane destruction are our own losses.

"There is no justification for the persistence of this conflict, common sense demands an end to it, and in fact this conflict must end.

"Good-neighborly relations, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and respect for other countries' territorial integrity, which are all principles held by our movement and the United Nations, must lead to the cessation of fratricidal bloodshed if courage and a high sense of responsibility prevail. In Central America, where the language of violence speaks louder than that of laws, we are constantly stating that good-neighborly relations should prevail and that there should be negotiated political settlements to disputes with respect for each country's right to development and national building in freedom and without undermining its way of life.

"The Contadora group deserves our support and encouragement for its action to apply its values to the ordinary lives of the Central American peoples."

Meets With Senegalese, PLO Officials

PM301223 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 20 Apr 86 p 6

[APS dispatch: "Dr Taleb Ibrahimis Talks"]

[Text] New Delhi -- Dr Ahmed Taleb Ibrahim, member of the Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, who is at present heading the Algerian delegation to the ministerial meeting of the nonaligned movement coordination bureau in New Delhi, has had a meeting with Senegalese Foreign Minister Ibrahim Fall. The two ministers exchanged views on the Coordination Bureau meeting with a view to ensuring that it deals more effectively with Africa's specific problems.

The deterioration in the Mediterranean situation and the U.S. aggression against Libya were also discussed.

In addition, Dr Ahmed Taleb Ibrahim and his Senegalese counterpart examined preparations for the special UN session to be held next May with a view discussing the economic situation in Africa.

Finally, the two ministers assessed the joint efforts of the current OAU chairman and the UN secretary general to implement resolutions 104 of the 19th African summit and resolutions 40 through 50 of the General Assembly as a means of bringing about a negotiated political settlement to the West Sahara conflict.

Dr Ahmed Taleb Ibrahim also had talks with PLO Political Section Chief Faruq Qaddumi on the Algerian proposal for a conference aimed at the reunification of the Palestinian resistance. The talks related in particular to ways and means of holding this conference. The holding of an Arab summit was also discussed.

On Thursday Dr Ahmed Taleb Ibrahim took part in a meeting of the foreign ministers of the nonaligned countries bordering the Mediterranean, held during the Coordination Bureau session in view of the serious deterioration in the Mediterranean situation.

The main aim of this meeting was to enable the participants to exchange views to define what collective action should be taken to help remedy this situation.

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CSO: 4500/118



ALGERIA

BRIEFS

RAILWAY AGREEMENT SIGNED--The Algerian-Indian agreement concerning the railway sector was signed in Algiers at the end of a visit by an Indian delegation, led by the minister of state for railways. The agreement concerns studies, technical assistance, personnel training, the joint construction and modernization of the Algerian railway system and the implementation of an important project for the replacement of the old lines. [Text] [Algiers Domestic Service in French 1830 GMT 23 Apr 86 LD]

ALGERIAN-BULGARIAN JUSTICE TALKS--Algiers, 27 Apr (APS)--The Algerian/Bulgarian talks in the field of justice started yesterday in Algiers. Opening the session, Justice Minister Mohamed Cherif Kharroubi highlighted the progress made in this sector. After independence this sector set for itself two goals: training [words indistinct] and reconsidering laws to make them comply with the options of the country that is socialist construction and social justice. "The mission of justice in our country does not consist in repressing but is mainly aimed at re-educating delinquents, justice minister said. Mr Kharroubi expressed satisfaction with the quality of ties binding the two countries and reasserted Algeria's willingness to further expand them. The Bulgarian Justice Minister Mrs Daskalova voiced hopes that the policy followed by the two ministries be pursued in the mutual interest of the Algerian and Bulgarian peoples. She suggested in this regard that exchanges of delegations and useful documents be enhanced so that the two sides benefit by their respective experiences in a sector as vital as that of justice. It is worth noting that the Bulgarian delegation had a working session yesterday with magistrates at the high court. In the afternoon, the delegation visited the Jihad museum and the center of arts in Maqam Chahid (the sanctuary of the martyr). [Text] [Algiers APS in English 1020 GMT 27 Apr 86 LD]

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EGYPT

# FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION SAID TO BEGIN WITH FREE ELECTIONS

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 30 Mar 86 p 5

[Editorial by Muhammad al-Hayawan: "Word of Love"]

[Text] Does paint stick to a fuzzy background? No, it falls and distorts the entire view because fuzz is fluffy and not fit for a background. Those who understand the painting processes begin by scraping the entire wall and then apply the paint to a sound and clean background free of all scrapes and protrusions.

Reform processes are like painting and they do not fit into a fuzzy background. They require that the background, worn out by excessive use, misuse, or by the elements of erosion or rust, be purged of all the impurities attached to it.

Reforming any society begins with the citizen because he is the foundation that carries the entire structure on his shoulders. For the citizen to participate in the reform, he must be a partner, not a spectator. The citizen's participation begins at the ballot box when the citizen is free to choose his ruler without restriction, precondition, or even definition because defining democracy may contain a restriction on it.

We have agreed that free expression is the basis of democracy and we have made freedom of expression available to the press, the deputy, the governor and all the people on top. What remains is for the citizen to enjoy this freedom of expression which begins at the ballot box which then escalates to the freedom of forming parties, the freedom of publishing papers, and the freedom to aspire for power or to participate in power.

When democracy's supporters insist on changing the election law, they do not talk nonsense and do not demand the impossible. They know through experience that individual elections are the best because they make the voter a party with a direct interest in the success or failure of a certain person. When the election is by list, the voter imagines that it is some sort of appointment, that he need not vote, and that his presence is unnecessary. Success is destined from above as if it were fate and the relationship is not between voter and deputy, but between a government that draws up the lists and individuals who are ready to render any service. This is why the voter feels that

he is remote from the picture and that his involvement in the picture is not needed, and may be even considered parasitic. This is why the voter turns his back to the elections and is content to hear the news. At times, he is not even interested in the news.

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EGYPT

## LIBERAL PARTY LEADERS DISCUSS MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD TIES

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 23 Apr 86 p 6

[Article by Najwa 'Abd-al-Hamid: "Serial of 'The Parties and the Brotherhood' Begins a New Chapter in Egypt; al-Talimsani, 'We Are Not Seekers of Power, Our Effort To Form a Political Party Does Not Prevent Our Cooperating with All Political Parties'"]

[Text] Cairo (AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT Bureau)--Although confronted with an undeclared blockage and a spate of unchanged election laws and constitutional provisions that prevent their forming a public political party to carry their banner, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt does not lack means to show its face and to make its voice heard from time to time in the Egyptian political arena. Thus, some wings of the Brotherhood have decided to take up positions in the trenches of existing legal parties instead of working secretly, although many members prefer to postpone coming into the open and would rather stay underground until further notice.

What is the Brotherhood gaining or losing? What does the affiliation of Brotherhood members with the political parties add or take away from the parties? AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT asked these questions and explored the positions of everyone involved in the complicated and heated serial, "The Brotherhood and the Political Parties."

As for the latest episode of the serial, its curtain went up on Tuesday afternoon, 8 April, when Mustafa Kamil, leader of the Liberal Party, the second smallest of the Egyptian opposition parties, got up at a surprise news conference to announce that he had decided to change the name of the party from "Socialist Liberal" to just "Liberal." He said that henceforth the party platform would stipulate that Islamic law is the sole source, not merely the principal source, of legislation and law, and that the party would no longer recognize the Camp David Agreement, which it had previously supported.

These three changes in the orientation of the party come less than a month after Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il, a member of the People's Assembly for more than 10 years, joined the Liberal Party to become a deputy to the party leader.

A few days before this news conference, the journalist Mahmud 'Awad had lost his seat as editor of the party newspaper, to be replaced immediately by a writer from the Islamic current. This was another of the changes that accompanied the entrance into the party of Shaykh Salah, himself one of the Muslim Brotherhood's most prominent representatives. The Brotherhood had seen a "leftist cast" in the way the newspaper was treating the news under the editorship of Mahmud 'Awad during the few weeks of his tenure.

As for the first episode of the serial, it began with an unwritten agreement between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Wafd Party, an old party that had returned to political life with the May 1984 elections. At that time, the Brotherhood, in its search for a pulpit from which to continue its missionary activity, agreed to go under the cloak of the Wafd. The Wafd, for its part, agreed to open its doors to the Brotherhood in order to assure itself of the votes and popular appeal of the Brotherhood, and consequently to occupy the largest number of opposition seats in the parliament chamber since its re-appearance as a result of these elections.

Between the first and the last episode, a ceaseless ebb and flow movement began. It became apparent that the "external alliance" with the Wafd was on the verge of disintegration. Shaykh Abu Isma'il fell out with the Wafdists and accused them of not standing by their promises to advocate Islamic law. He broke with them, or they broke with him. Within a few months, Shaykh Abu Isma'il and some wings of the Muslim Brotherhood were carrying on real negotiations with two other, though much smaller, political parties: the Ummah Party and the Liberal Party. Finally, Abu Isma'il actually decided 4 weeks ago to join the Liberal Party as a deputy to their party leader. He immediately began to move on two fronts: changing the party and its direction, and calling on the remaining wings of the Muslim Brotherhood to join it.

Al-Talimsani: "We Will Not Give Up Hope"

Shaykh 'Ulmar al-Talimsani, grand master of the Muslim Brotherhood, affirmed to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT from his sickbed that the Brotherhood had still not given up the idea of establishing its own political party, though it was not against cooperating with the existing political parties. "We will hurry to take the necessary measures to form a political party of our own. However, that does not prevent the Brotherhood from cooperating with all the political parties, whether before or after establishment of its own party."

In some of his previous statements, al-Talimsani has said, "The Muslim Brotherhood are not seekers of power. Offices do not interest them. They are merely Islamic missionaries with a message they wish to bring to the people, regardless of what stations or offices they themselves hold." Nevertheless, some Wafd personalities now quote al-Talimsani as being for remaining on board the Wafd ship.

## We Tried All the Political Parties

However, Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il makes the following comment about al-Talimsani's position: "Professor 'Umar is an eminent brother and a great fighter. He has his opinion. A difference of opinion exists, but an issue will not spoil friendship." He also said that after his call to the Brotherhood to enter the Liberal Party, they were still deliberating, and that he was still awaiting their decision. "I personally think the results are so clear that it should not take so much time. The only way--and there is no alternative--is the Liberal Party. It is the only party that has opened its doors to us. The ruling National [Democratic] Party, which has a majority, has not responded to our demand for implementing Islamic law. 'God has established it in the land, but it has not been equal to the trust.' As for the Wafd, we found its channel closed to us. They double-crossed me and fired me. They alleged that I had resigned, though they were unable to prove my resignation. They charged me with having joined the National [Democratic] Party. I sent them a correction, but they never published it." What happened? "It opened its door to the Nasserites, who bear the name of the man who imprisoned Muslim Brotherhood members in 1965 and who struck the Islamic law courts and the mosque religious trusts." As for the [National Progressive Unionist] Grouping, it was "the party of those leftists whose last shameful act was to criticize the holy war of the Afghans against the Russians. Even the Ummah Party sold us for a paltry price that Fu'ad Muhyi-al-Din paid to them when he was prime minister. For all these reasons, today I call on men of the Islamic current to hurry into the Liberal Party so as to be its members and decisions makers. An independent has no way. There is no way to the application of Islamic law except by membership in a party or in the parliament--so long as the creation of a separate party for Islamic activists remains a hope that the law creates. "If the matter were in my hands," says Shaykh Salah, "I would shake every bed in which a Muslim is sleeping, so that he would wake up and join the Liberal Party this very day."

Furthermore, he considers it unlikely that the Liberal Party will be a "temporary umbrella" and that the alliance with it just a phase until the establishment of a political party belonging to the Muslim Brotherhood is allowed. "Why temporary, when its constitution and program lie in our hands, and when we can direct the party and make it obedient to Islam? Why should it not be a permanent association, God willing?"

But what if the Muslim Brotherhood wins the court case it brought in 1977? Shaykh Abu Isma'il answers, "The case is still pending. Even if a decision in favor of the Brotherhood allows its organization to return, the Brotherhood will not be able to make nominations for parliament, since it is a religious organization, not a political party. At the present time, affiliation to other parties is the solution, because it will enable us to carry out our role, and because 'necessity makes forbidden things permissible.'"



## Mustafa Murad Replies

To what extent has the appeal for Muslim Brotherhood members to affiliate with the Liberal Party succeeded? To what extent has the Liberal party line drawn close to what they want?

The answer comes from Mustafa Kamil Murad, leader of the Liberal Party. He confirms that during the last few weeks the party has received applications from a large number of Islamic organization members from various governorates to join the party in order to unite the efforts to establish an Islamic path agreeing with the rules of Islamic law. This accords with the first paragraph of the program that the party has put forward in parliament since its founding in 1976. In this paragraph, the party proposes amending certain articles of civil and criminal law and certain penalties so as to conform to the rules of Islamic law. Also, in 1982, the party began to publish the newspaper AL-NUR AL-ISLAMIYAH to be the party's organ in expressing its point of view on the application of Islamic law. The newspaper continues to be published successfully until now. In addition, there are the weekly conferences that the party holds at its headquarters for dialogue with the leadership of the Islamic organizations about the way to apply the rules of Islamic law. Based on these leaders' conviction that the goal of the party is the application of Islamic law, and after Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il, Shaykh Yusuf al-Badawi, and others joined the party, thousands of young people from the Islamic organizations in various governorates began asking to fill out forms for party membership.

The Liberal Party leader adds that there are no differences between the Muslim Brotherhood and the Liberal Party. ["Concerning the Camp David Agreement and the party's initial acceptance of it, our answer was clear and explicit: the Camp David Agreement is merely a political agreement whose goal is stopping the flow of blood, Israeli withdrawal from Sinai, and improvement of relations with the western world and the United States. This has allowed Egypt to obtain help during the last 10 years to finance development operations. Even before the party announced the withdrawal of its approval of the peace treaty last week, the opinion of the party was that the treaty was an agreement subject to review from time to time in the light of the extent of Israeli adherence to carrying out its provisions.["]

Concerning Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il's statement after joining the Liberal Party--that he would seek to amend the party platform, and that the members of the party had approved of this--the Liberal Party leader explained that the general secretariat of the party had formed a committee several months ago to review the party platform and bylaws and to consider amending some sections of the bylaws and the platform. Since it was almost 10 years since their implementation, this was something normal in political parties.

What does the Liberal Party gain by Abu Isma'il's having joined it? Was there a deal whose price was paid by Mahmud 'Awad, the former editor of the party newspaper?

The party leader says, "We do not see the question as one of gain or loss, of presence in the parliament or not. Rather, we see it as a fundamental goal of the party. The party will seek to embrace anything that helps it realize its goals, foremost among them being the application of Islamic law. Thus, uniting the efforts of the Islamic organizations and the party strengthens the call for application of the Islamic path."

["]As for the resignation of Mahmud 'Awad, there was no deal and no disagreement. It goes back to reasons the most important of which was the lack of clarity of the party's political line in the newspaper AL-AHRAR during the time he was in charge. We drew his attention frequently to this. In addition, he did not show enough interest in publishing articles about party conferences and secretariat activity in the governorates. Finally, there was his refusal to attend meetings of the newspaper board of directors and his declining to meet with the party leadership. All of this made them decide unanimously that he should not continue to remain as head of the newspaper.["]

The remaining portion of the story of Salah Abu Isma'il and the Wafd Party will be told to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT by Shaykh 'Abd-al-Ghaffar 'Aziz, chairman of the Religious Affairs Committee of the Wafd Party. "After he withdrew, a number of Muslim Brotherhood members tried to convince Shaykh Salah to return to the Wafd, but he refused completely. Negotiations then took place between him and the Ummah and Liberal parties, who hoped that the group of Muslim Brotherhood members in the Wafd would join them. Perhaps he imagined that he could convince the individuals in this group to join either of the two parties with him so that they would be allowed freedom to move-especially since there was a commitment by the two parties for them to be in charge of more than 50 percent of leadership positions. (This was not available from the Wafd.) However, the Muslim Brotherhood group still in the Wafd, as well as the group's leadership outside the [People's] Assembly, completely refused this idea on the ground that there were no disagreements between them and the Wafd Party. They believed that if they left the party, they would have betrayed their comrades in the election campaign. Also, they see in the Wafd a force having a popularity far surpassing the power and popularity of the other two parties. Again, the Wafd leadership was and still is eager to satisfy Muslim Brotherhood members. Never has the Wafd objected to the principles or demands they advocate, especially the issue of Islamic law. The Wafd, for example, has officially announced that it will bring forward in its own name the Islamic laws that the previous [People's] Assembly finished drafting and which were approved by the Academy of Islamic Studies. Last year, the Wafd did not hinder its members from signing two petitions to discuss the subject of Islamic law. I myself collected the signatures. No instructions or directives were issued to stop the matter. The party never interfered in any decision made by the Religious [Affairs] Committee while I was its chairman."

#### [Popular] Bases REject Joining

["]The truth is that I asked Professor 'Umar al-Talimsani orally about the idea of joining the Ummah or Liberal parties. He stated that all the popular

bases of the Brotherhood reject the idea and that there was no justification for leaving the Wafd, which had become more popular than before. It was the nature of the Brotherhood not to like betrayal. He said explicitly that the Brotherhood could carry on its activity in the Wafd more than elsewhere. Nevertheless, I do not doubt that Shaykh Salah Abu Isma'il's presence in the Liberal Party will have a great effect on the latter party's activity and will give it greater power than before because of his weight, reputation, and large following in the Islamic world. A large number of Muslim youths will be able to carry on their activities through this party, something that they are not allowed to do outside the parties, it being an illegal activity. However, my many meetings with the head and the leadership of the Wafd Party and my personal experience have proved to me that the Wafd leadership is extremely enthusiastic about the subject of applying Islamic law and that they are completely convinced in the matter--and not just to play politics, but out of belief and conviction. It has become clear to me that our presence in the Wafd Party will without doubt give Wafd members an opportunity to become acquainted close-up with this Islamic point of view. Like many people, some high officials in the Wafd used to understand that we were demanding what is called 'religious government,' i.e., rule by clergymen. However, they have learned from our conversations with them that Islam itself rejects this idea and that there exists nothing with the name of 'religious government.' The Islamic system is a civilian one governed only by the law of the Koran. The ulema' [Islamic scholars] are merely individuals within the community who have specialized in one aspect of life; they have no prerogative that distinguishes them from others and gives them alone the right to hold authority. Authority belongs to whoever is fit for it and is qualified to hold it, regardless of his studies or specialization--on condition only that he be committed to applying the law of God. As long as we are with the Wafd, living in peace, and with no difference between us up to now, it would be madness to break this unity or dissolve this tie which has been very fruitful and which will, God willing, produce even more fruit during the coming period. The Muslim Brotherhood and the Wafd Party are two great forces, both of which would become weakened by separation from each other."

In spite of this defense, there are some within the Muslim Brotherhood who do not agree with Shaykh 'Aziz's opinion. The young journalist Muhammad 'Abd-al-Quddus, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood, affirms from his personal experience with Wafdists that the Wafd Party has not taken a single step toward applying Islamic law--not even gradually--since it is not serious in the matter. It is not making efforts to attract Brotherhood members. As for Shaykh Abu Isma'il's going over to the Liberal Party, it is a futile deal!

He thinks that the best solution now so that the Muslim Brotherhood can express its opinion is for them to have their own political party. They should cooperate with political parties as parties without joining them as members, so that there could be an alliance--by writing in their newspapers or participating in their conventions and conferences. "I am an example of this, since I am working with the Labor Party, though without joining it, through the newspaper. At the same time, we continue to fight and to demand the formation of a political party."

He asserts that the true party is the one that endures all difficulties. About the Muslim Brotherhood and the fundamental, main direction in Egypt, [he states that] it is the current of the Brotherhood. It represents 95 percent of the existing currents. It controls the unions and the universities. The remaining currents are marginal. Therefore, formation of an Islamic party belonging to the Brotherhood will gather all these tendencies.

The problem is analyzed in less vehement words by Professor Salah Shadi, one of the leading personalities of the Muslim Brotherhood: "The Muslim Brotherhood has no means of expression. They have no newspaper. The issue of establishing a political party belonging to them is still before the courts. The newspapers of the other political parties are not the best alternative. There is a vast difference between presenting your ideas embodied in your own newspaper and being allowed occasionally to write in other newspapers."

Outside the circle of the discussion stand a number of neutral observers who are following the details of the heated discussion concerning the Muslim Brotherhood and the Liberal Party. From the Center for Political and Strategic Studies at the newspaper AL-AHRAM, Dr Jihad 'Awdah, a specialist in political analysis, made the following comment: "Shaykh Salah Isma'il's joining the Liberal Party is a sign of the bankruptcy of political life. A month before, the Liberal Party had decided to develop party revenues through the newspaper. Then, when Shaykh Salah joined it, it altered its decision. This is a party stance that is not ethically honorable, and it is also politically useless." This step was also a fragmentation of the Islamic currents and a cause of increasing confusion among young people and consequently of increasing violence and of the appearance of secret religious currents.

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EGYPT

## INDEPENDENCE FROM U.S. POLICIES DEMANDED

Cairo AL-I'TISAM in Arabic Nov-Dec 85 pp 3-5

[Article by Hilmi Muhammad al-Qa'ud: "No Homeland Can be Established...Unless It Produces Food and Weapons for Itself...And Food Comes First!"]

[Text] Once the Indian government waited impatiently for the arrival of wheat-laden American ships to its ports. India has a large population and its stock of grains was insufficient. The U.S. ambassador came to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's office and presented a demand which conflicted with the sovereignty and national will of India. Indira Gandhi asked the ambassador to tell his government that India had decided that the ships laden with wheat should return to where they came from. The ambassador was taken aback, stunned, and surprised. A year later the ambassador and his government were more than stunned when India became an exporter of wheat!

This story may seem unrelated to the current issue--the insult the U.S. government, headed by Ronald Reagan, dared to inflict upon the people and the government of Egypt by supporting Jewish criminal aggression against the Palestinians in Tunisia and by the interception of an Egyptian civilian airplane. The first story and the insult, however, are closely related.

The first lesson peoples and governments must learn is the need for self-sufficiency in food, particularly bread.

Khomeyni was one of those who learned this lesson. When he returned to Tehran following the success of the revolution he said to the Iranians: "We walk upside down on our heads. We need to walk on our feet. This will not happen until we produce wheat." Iran changed from an importer to an exporter of wheat.

I do not wish to repeat that Egyptian peasants managed--under adverse domestic conditions--to convert Gulf countries into self-sufficient producers of wheat.

The American insult to the people and government of Egypt has shown the importance of and need for relying on God and on ourselves to be self-sufficient in food before weapons. The reaction to the American insult was governed by that factor which Indira Gandhi, Imam Khomeyni, and some other



countries had recognized. If this insult fails to motivate us to produce our food, I think we will be a people with no honor and a useless government.

After all, we are capable--thanks to God--to produce food and more than food. Some may think this is impossible, but it is not; we have the land, the water, the will, and men. The land is extensive, stretching from Taba to al-Salum, and from Alexandria to Aswan. We have the water in Nasir Lake and underground water. The underground water in the western desert alone is three thousand times as much as that of Nasir Lake (AL-AHRAM, 10/17/85). We have plenty of men and women, too. We have, for example, about a quarter of a million soldiers in what is called "Central Security." They occupy many places, conduct a large campaign, and spend more than \$1 billion a year. Why, then, don't we direct them to farm the desert, since most of them are peasants originally?

Central Security has been in existence incredibly since [former interior minister] al-Nabawi's era. Those who formed it thought that it would be capable of suppressing popular uprisings. But this belief is void and unreal. Central Security failed to control the uprisings of 18-19 January 1977. Everyone knows that it was the special forces which controlled them. When real freedom and social justice exist there will be no need for the government to use those special forces or other similar troops.

And we have men and women who receive salaries for no work, and who await low-paying government appointments. Why do we not direct them to the desert and facilitate the acquisition of agricultural equipment for them, thereby solving the problems of housing, marriage, and food, too?

We have men and women who go to the Arab countries and work for a quarter of a wage, and who have to tolerate countless (Arab!) insults. Why do we not open the doors for them to work in the desert and encourage them by all available means? Egypt, the Muslim country, is capable, thanks to God, of answering the American insult and to teach America that the "hitting on the back of the neck policy" would not be accepted by the Egyptians even while they need American wheat.

America has thought, according to Kissinger and Kirkpatrick's theory, that it can control Egypt and contain its people with a handful of wheat which America throws into the ocean. This concept is wrong at its roots because the Jewish concepts which govern the U.S. administration are based on indifference to people's will, psychology, and heritage. It is true that such perceptions have achieved visible success in Egypt and the Arab world. The Americans have penetrated Egypt; they have reached into the depths of the rural areas. This is something to which we have drawn attention to on the pages of this magazine. The reader would find [text omitted] for some of the information on the Egyptian rural region which the American seeks to obtain. It is also true that some voices and writers have sold themselves totally to the Americans; it is true that America has manipulated some organs and parties so that fighting Islam would be their strategic objective, since Islam is seen to be against progress, stability, civilization, etc. It is true, after all this, that America has put the state of murderers in Palestine

in a position from which it can blackmail Egypt and restrict its movement in more than one arena. But, who said that Egypt, the Islamic country, can concede to the evil Jewish idea?

Throughout its long civilized history, Egypt, the Islamic country, has conquered, through its Islamic thought, every evil Pagan idea. Examples of this are the resistance to the Tatars, the defeat of the Crusaders at the gates of Jerusalem, fighting back the English, French, and Italians throughout the Arab and the Muslim world, and destroying the Jewish myth that Israel is invincible. Therefore, in god we always trust, and we believe that the Egyptian people will not accept the American insult, or submit to Jewish theft, nor will it be affected by the positions of perfidy or disappointment which are issued by some of the so-called moderate or extremist Arabs.

America has managed to penetrate Egypt from within and sow the seeds of evil among its sons. It managed to utilize, and such a pity, some Egyptian communists to accomplish its plans and objectives. You can ask about the shouts against the head of state during the university demonstrations in the past weeks, while the head of state was criticizing America in a manner never used by Russia or the progressive Arabs! Nonetheless, America, together with Russia, will not be able to penetrate the broad Islamic base which constitutes the foundations of this country.

If Israel has managed to waste all its claims for peace, friendly neighborhood, civilized Jewish behavior, and to achieve huge publicity for its long arm used to convince Egypt that only the Jews have the upper hand in the Middle East, then Israel must have completely overlooked an invisible weapon the Egyptians have: martyrdom. This weapon was used in a limited way in the Ramadan [October] War. Jews have tasted and experienced it. And when time comes to use it again, the arsenal of the murderers in Israel will not be of any help. Time will judge.

The treacherous positions shown by some Arabs confirm to every Egyptian that the only way of confronting America and Israel is to depend upon God and ourselves. For Tunisia, its interest comes before Egypt's or Palestine's. It, therefore, did what George Shultz ordered it to do; it backed away from receiving the Egyptian airplane and allowed American terrorism to carry out its plan. Earlier, the Tunisians had been joyful when the Arab League moved to their country, since such a move would provide them with considerable financial resources. They talked about war when they were the first, in the person of the great fighter, Habib Bourguiba to call for capitulation of Jericho. And we still hear statements from al-Mzali and Chedli Kleibi against terminating the political boycott of Egypt. In the meantime, the insistence of some extremist Arab countries to regard Egypt as enemy number one, before Israel, forces us to stop the unpleasant talk about the return of Egypt to the Arabs, and about so-called Arab solidarity. Some Arabs have not cooperated except in suspect wars like the Guf war. And they will not give financial assistance except to the western christian countries, even if they, out of rare politeness, have to forego the interest on their deposits sometimes, which goes automatically to the World Council of Churches where it is distributed to help missionary work, conversions to Christianity,

fighting Islam, and also to be spent on suspect institutions in the Arab and Muslim world.

Since the Arabs abandoned Islam as an ideology and custom, and since they took Islam only as a front and moved through so-called "Arab nationalism"--as perceived by Michel 'Aflaq--they have accomplished many important achievements, but backwards. They have lost Palestine, split the Muslim nation, allowed extremist sects and minorities the opportunity to grow, and become powerful and influential. Just ask them what they have done in Lebanon, Palestine, and the Sudan.

Egypt, the Islamic country, is the hope and future. She is dignity and pride for all Arabs and Muslims--I mean those who are truly Muslims and Arabs; those Arabs who denied God's gift and thought that the wealth given to them by God is theirs alone, to be spent on their pleasures and adventures and not on Jihad, Islamic call, and interdependence--those will not escape the divine wrath which is inevitably coming according to God's invariable rules:

And remember your Lord caused it to be declared publicly, if ye are grateful I will add more favours unto you but if ye show ingratitude truly my punishment is terrible indeed. (Ibrahim, verse 7)

Anyhow, the insult inflicted on the people and government of Egypt by America will not pass unpunished. The first step in this punishment is not to extend our hand to America, but rather to extend it to our land, plow, axe, and seeds. To achieve this step we have to eliminate American penetration in Egypt's culture and traditions, to stop chasing Islam and Islamic callers, and to provide a place conducive to freedom, dialogue, and justice as an example to be followed by the others around us. Only then would we ever need statements of protest and complaints to the UN Security Council, the cutting off of diplomatic relations, and other actions which come under the terminology of a bad reputation. Only then would we eliminate careless American policy--I mean the striking the back of the neck policy.

Submit to God, oh Egypt.

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EGYPT

## DEPENDENCY IN RELATIONS WITH UNITED STATES DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 25 Mar 86 pp 1, 9

[Commentary by 'Adil Husayn: "Subservience and Economic Crisis"]

[Text] Last Friday, I was one of my country's citizens in their unity, nervousness, tension, and supplication. The apparent reason was a soccer match whereas the precise reason was a response to the horrifying setbacks that have afflicted Egyptian nationalism. In truth, all that was displayed by young and old before and after the match is proof that the store of national energy is well and that all that this energy awaits is for somebody to release it and direct it on the renaissance path.

We say this as an inlet to discussing the economic crisis. But there is another inlet to discussing the crisis connected with the issue of subservience to the United States. This issue has reached the point where it requires a number of quick clarifications.

Our talk of Egypt's subservience to the United States does not mean absolving others in the Arab area of this characterization. All the small and scattered Arab countries are subject, (despite their loud claims), to the domination of this or that international bloc, even though by varying degrees. The situation cannot be otherwise. Each Arab country separately is incapable of achieving its independence with its own resources. The situation requires something like a protracted collective war, which Egypt is usually nominated to lead. This is a nomination founded on a sound basis. Therefore, Egypt's reluctance to perform this role has made the task difficult for all, including Egypt, This is the situation of Egypt and the Arabs nowadays.

This is primary, but on the other hand, the talk of the need for independence is not an act of one-upmanship and is not, contrary to what some say, a call for isolation incompatible with the conditions of the age. We realize that the scientific developments have led to a revolution in information and a revolution in the systems of production, exchange, communication, and transportation. All this has created a network of international relations headed by two giants (the United States and the Soviet Union). It is totally impossible to disregard what this network of relations imposes. It is impossible for one to be isolated from today's world. This is certain. But what kind of relations should one have with the world? This is a question subject to numerous and varied answers.



It is well known in our modern history that the national movement has always been divided vis-a-vis this question into those who are called "moderates" and those who are called "radicals." The first camp includes those who hold the opinion that it is impossible to eliminate foreign control and that it is better to cooperate sincerely with the enemies and to try to obtain some partial reforms within the framework of this control. On the other hand, the "radicals" have always held the view that it is completely possible to totally eliminate this control. I believe that these two camps are still present in Egyptian political life. This is a natural law, "and had God wished, He would have created you a single nation." There are those who say nowadays about the Americans what was said yesterday about the British. It is asked nowadays: How can we survive without the domination (or the special relationship) with the United States and without the 2 billion dollars it provides? On the other hand, there are those who demand terminating this unequal relationship. We in the Labor Party belong, God be thanked, to the second camp. This has been our choice and this is how we have been since our early youth and this is how we will continue to be until we meet our Creator, despite the difficulty of the path and the immensity of the sacrifices.

If we turn to the international system, we say that those who have the control or those who have the modern empires do not want our likes to rise. There is nobody who agrees to liquidate his empire and his spheres of influence voluntarily and willingly. Insofar as the Arab Islamic area in particular is concerned, the schemes to divide and rule have never stopped. All parties fear our unity for ideological, economic, and geopolitical reasons. Even though we are aware of this, insulation from the others (even if they are evil) is impossible, as we have already said. If the hostility toward our revival and unity plan is comprehensive, then it is not good policy to put the immediate enemies and the likely enemies in the same basket. War and politics (the two faces of the same coin) dictate that the priorities be defined precisely: Which enemies come first and which battles should be waged now.

Since the 1970's, al-Sadat determined that the "special cooperation" relations must be with the United States alone. This option and the subsequent special relations with Israel definitely need to be reevaluated and reexamined.

In any case, we must remember under all circumstances the principles that govern our international movement. Our objective is to end the subservience and to achieve independence. This does not mean, as we have already asserted, isolating ourselves from the others. It means that we should seek to deal with them equally. This equality may not be achieved in all aspects. We may be weak in a certain aspect. But in this case, we must make up for the weakness with the strong points in another aspect. If we take the economic relations as an example, then my need for relations with the United States in this sphere exceeds, of course, the need of the United States for what I offer it. This is Israel's situation also. But the difference between us and Israel is that Israel uses other spheres of strength with which to make up for its economic weakness vis-a-vis the United States. Israel thus regains equality and independence.



Israel employs Zionist solidarity to form lobbies that put pressure on the decision-makers in the countries concerned.

Since the beginning of the Zionist plan in Palestine, Israel has been employing the importance of the geographic position it has occupied to separate the Arab East from the Arab West. This geopolitical argument has been convincing to any world power seeking to control this part of the world. The argument has even gained more weight with the success of the Zionist plan in dictating its will and elevating its status. The Zionist plan is no longer just a negative or geographic barrier in the face of Arab unification. The plan is now achieving this objective [of obstructing Arab unity] with a military and political power that relies on a suitable geographic position. All this endows the Zionist plan with strong points in its relationship with the United States, and numerous other countries, thus balancing the weakness emanating from the increased economic reliance on the United States.

Therefore, we do not believe that independence (or nonalignment) means by necessity establishing equal economic or political relations with the various international parties. Some circumstances may compel us into something different. However, the situation requires securing a number of balancing conditions, as we have pointed out in the Israeli example. The conditions that guarantee us a degree of balance in our relations with the United States are necessarily different from the conditions that have secured for Israel this prominent place in the U.S. strategy. It is important to remind others of this because President al-Sadat imagined in his days that he could improve Egypt's position in the U.S. strategy by having Egypt perform the role of the policeman guarding the U.S. interests. This means that al-Sadat tried to use the same Israeli instruments to achieve a degree of the balance achieved by the Zionists. It was natural for this scheme to fail.

Our situation is totally different. The resources we possess are different from the resources the Zionists possess. Creativity and determination are required in order to enable our march to follow its independent course in accordance with our strong points and our weak points which are different from the Israeli's strong and weak points. We will stop at this limit now.

What we are eager to assert here is that the Israelis have managed to balance their affairs and to achieve their independence whereas we have ended up with defective balances and have fallen into a subservience that shackles our fundamental options and decisions. We notice the economic ramifications of this situation in the fact that Israel is up to its ears in foreign debts, rather it is the country most deeply immersed in foreign debts in terms of population-debt ratio. Yet, the IMF has not intervened to impose its directives on the Israelis in accordance with what it calls "reforming the economic course." It has not required them to abolish the system of open and concealed subsidies even though the Israeli economy is the economy that uses most heavily all forms of subsidies and even though a vast deficit in the public budget and astronomical inflation rates accompany these subsidies.

The Israeli economy is the biggest recipient of U.S. aid. The aid the Israelis get from the United States is bigger, in terms of absolute volume,

than the aid Egypt receives. This aid is immeasurably bigger if calculated on the basis of the per capita aid. Despite this, the United States does not impose any conditions that restrict the Israeli officials. The Israelis get their aid in blank checks and use the monies for any purpose they wish, without experts, without examiners, without accountants, and without any predetermined projects. How does all this compare with the American shadow cabinet residing in Garden City!

The difference between us and Isreal is the difference between those who have insisted on the independence of their will and who have established a balance of forces that has enabled them to achieve what they want and those who have abandoned this course. Thus, God has freed our enemies' hearts of our fear and we have been rendered submissive and powerless.

8494/12947

CSO: 4504/274

EGYPT

## PLAN TO IMPORT MODIFIED JAPANESE CARS FAILS

Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 28 Mar 86 p 12

[Editorial by Muhsin Muhammad: "From the Heart"]

[Text] The Egyptian company asked Japan to manufacture for it a Japanese car with technical specifications that befit the Egyptian climate.

The Japanese firm agreed to modify the specifications of some of its cars and notified the Egyptian company of its decision. After consulting its engineers, the Egyptian company approved the proposed modification.

The Egyptian company applied to an Egyptian bank to open a credit account of 40 million yen for the benefit of the Japanese firm in Tokyo and submitted a letter of guaranty from an international bank for the purpose and the letter was sent to Japan. All this happened by 20 November 1984, i.e., more than 1.5 years ago. But on 6 December 1984, i.e., 2 weeks after presentation of the letter of guaranty, a ministerial decree was issued stipulating that the Rationalization Committee's approval must be obtained for the importation of 331 commodities, including cars.

In Egypt, when some decrees are issued, they are not enforced as of the date of issuance, but with a retroactive effect. This has created problems in numerous commodities and problems for individuals also. This applies in the case of the customs fees which are levied while [imported] goods are on the way.

In any case, the company applied to the Rationalization Committee to approve importing the cars.

The company said that the cars were produced in Japan in the period from August to October 1984.

The company also said that it had presented to the Japanese firm a letter of guaranty from an international bank prior to the production operation and that it wanted a letter of credit to be issued or else the letter of guaranty would be confiscated.

The Japanese are intelligent and shrewd merchants who follow up on the economic decisions everywhere and they found that if the letter of credit is not issued, they could seize the price of 809 cars without shipping them.

The Egyptian company was compelled to insist on opening the credit so that Egypt would not lose 40 million Japanese yen for the price of cars which will not be imported unless the credit account is opened on time.

The Japanese firm's ultimatum was to end in February 1985, but the firm decided not to lose a client in Egypt and extended the period and is still extending it. But till when?

The Rationalization Committee has not yet approved importation of the cars and, consequently, the credit account cannot be opened.

In a legal warning, the company has said that the cars were not subject to the rationalization committees at the time when the contract was concluded.

So far, nothing has happened because some people do not wish to acknowledge that the letter of guaranty is an obligation on the part of the bank and that the sum will be lost.

At times, one does not know to whom to complain!

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CSO: 4504/265

MOROCCO

# MAP REPORTS ON WORK OF MOROCCAN-ITALIAN JOINT COMMISSION

LD261540 Rabat MAP in English 1238 GMT 26 Apr 86

[Text] Rabat, 26 April (MAP) -- Moroccan Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Ahmed Cherkaoui and his Italian counterpart Mario Raffaelli Friday signed the minutes of the Moroccan-Italian joint commission's third session held here April 23-25.

The two sides decided to give a new impulse to their bilateral cooperation in trade agriculture, equipment, industry, telecommunications, transports, construction of dams, as well as in matters relating to cultural cooperation, employment and social welfare, and investments

Expounding the outcome of the joint commission's works during a press conference he held Friday evening, Raffaelli stressed that the Italian delegation's visit was an occasion to lay down grounds to significantly enlarge bilateral cooperation and diversify.

Italy, it was convened [as received] would grant Morocco loans worth 50 million U.S. dollars at advantageous terms (10 year grace period and low interest rates to finance a number of economic projects, mainly concerning agricultural mechanization, telecommunications, a new airport in Agadir (southern Morocco) and the construction of the "Ait Ayyoub" Dam.

Raffaelli dwelt on his talks with Minister of Employment Hassan Abbadi concerning the situation of Moroccan workers and businessmen established in Italy and the agreement the two sides reached to find a satisfactory solution preserving the rights of the Moroccan community in Italy.

On Moroccan-EC relations, Raffaelli said his country has taken note of Morocco's concern over the potential negative consequences of EC enlargement to Spain and Portugal on the kingdom's economy, and that Italy will back Morocco's legitimate demands in this respect.

By deciding to enlarge the framework of technical cooperation to other fields, Raffaelli said, the two countries have made an important forward step, especially at a moment intensive dialogue among Mediterranean countries is necessary, a reference to repeated Moroccan call to avoid escalation and defuse tension in the Mediterranean.

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CSO: 4500/120



MOROCCO

FOREIGN MINISTER MEETS WITH FRENCH COUNTERPART

PMO21351 Casablanca LE MATIN DU SAHARA in French 27 Apr 86 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Moroccan-French Relations are Exemplary, Trusting, and Harmonious"]

[Text] Abdellatif Falali, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation, gave a dinner Friday evening [25 April -- FBIS] in honor of French Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond, who is at present on an official visit to Morocco.

This dinner was attended by Azeddine Laraki, deputy prime minister and minister of national education, Azeddine Guessous, minister attached to the prime minister for relations with the EEC, Hassan Abbadi, minister of employment, Ahmed Cherkaoui, secretary of state for foreign affairs and cooperation, Youssef Bel Abbas, His majesty's ambassador to Paris, Philippe Cuvillier, France's ambassador to Rabat, heads of parliamentary groups, and several other prominent people.

In the speech which he delivered on this occasion, Abdellatif Filali stressed that "Moroccan-French relations are exemplary" and that bilateral relations "bear the seal of durability and carry the fortunate stamp of harmony and trust."

After referring to the visit which His Majesty the King recently made to France which "once again demonstrated the depth of the ties and feelings which unite our two countries and our two peoples," Mr Filali noted that bilateral exchanges have "experienced a new upsurge in the past 2 years" and that "in the cultural sphere our relations are developing in a satisfactory way." He also referred to France's "active participation" in implementing a number of economic development projects in Morocco.

"Our common region (the Mediterranean) is experiencing acute tension..." and we are worried about the unfortunate and dangerous events which have occurred in this part of the world in recent weeks," Mr Filali then said, specifying that Morocco "will host an extraordinary Arab summit which will consider this crisis. We still hope that, with everybody's good will, this temporary crisis will be quickly overcome," Mr Filali added.

"We do not doubt that in these circumstances France will add its efforts to ours to safeguard our area from the dangers involved in any escalation and to

restore to this part of the Mediterranean the pace, stability, and security it needs" the minister of foreign affairs and cooperation also said.

With regard to the "harmful effects exerted on our trade with the community and on our country's economic stability" by the EEC's expansion to include Spain and Portugal, Mr Filali paid tribute to the support given by the French Government to Morocco "with a view to safeguarding its legitimate interests in its relations with the EEC."

Mr Filali also pointed out that peace and stability in the Middle East cannot be achieved "without a guarantee of the Palestinian people's rights and without Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon and the other occupied Arab territories."

Finally, Mr Filali said that the French foreign minister's visit to Morocco "will mark a new stage on the path to strengthening Franco-Moroccan accord and cooperation."

In his reply, Mr Raimond started by recalling the period he spent in Morocco as his country's ambassador, specifying that France and the current French Government attach great importance to our relations with the Maghreb countries and with Morocco." [quotemarks as published -- FBIS]

Mr Raimond stressed the "traditional" aspect of Moroccan-French cooperation in the cultural and economic spheres, stating that "we will continue to have close mutual relations with you."

Mr Raimond added that, in the economic sphere France is anxious to take account of the problems and interests of other Mediterranean countries, particularly the Maghreb countries and especially Morocco, now that Europe has been expanded to include Spain and Portugal." [quotemarks as published -- FBIS]

The French foreign minister also referred to the talks he had on Friday with Mr Filali which related "not only to our bilateral relations but to international relations and the problems in the Mediterranean...which" he specified, "fully justify my visit given the role which Morocco plays in the Arab world. [quotemarks as published -- FBIS]

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CSO: 4500/120

MOROCCO

COOPERATION AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH SWEDEN

LD261345 Rabat MAP in English 1200 GMT 26 Apr 86

[Text] Rabat, 26 April (MAP)--Morocco and Sweden Friday concluded a cooperation agreement providing for developing bilateral trade exchanges and industrial cooperation.

The agreement was signed by Minister of Trade and Industry Tahar Masmoudi and visiting Swedish Minister of Foreign Trade Matts Hellstrom. The new accord replaces the one concluded between the two countries in 1960.

Speaking on the occasion, Masmoudi noted that the former agreement concluded in the wake of Morocco's independence (1955) has become outdated, no longer meeting the two countries' aspirations and cooperation potentials, wherefrom the need to upgrade its content.

Noting the bilateral trade exchanges were much in favor of Sweden, Masmoudi stressed the need of balancing them by giving a new impulse to imports from Morocco and increasing Swedish investments in Morocco. To this effect, he suggested intense exchange of visits among both countries' businessmen and the organizing of trade and industrial fairs to make trading and investment possibilities better known to economic agents from both sides.

Recalling Morocco's demand to join in the General Agreement of Trade and Tariffs "GATT", Hellstrom said "we favorably welcome Morocco's demand to become a GATT member."

Hellstrom had conferred earlier with Moroccan Deputy-Premier and Minister of National Education Azzeddine Laraki, with whom he reviewed various aspects of bilateral cooperation.

The two sides expressed determination to enhance this cooperation in all areas.

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MOROCCO

BRIEFS

NEW MAGAZINE PUBLISHED--Rabat, 13 Apr (MAP)--The first issue of AL-IQTISAD WA AL-MUJTAMA [THE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY--FBIS] has been published. It is a Moroccan magazine for research and dialogue and is managed by Al-Tuhami al-Khayyari. It is to be published once every 3 months. [Excerpt] [Rabat MAP in Arabic 0900 GMT 13 Apr 86 LD]

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CSO: 4500/120

SUDAN

ATTORNEY GENERAL CITES TRANSITION PERIOD ACHIEVEMENTS

London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 10 Apr 86 p 3

[Interview with Sudanese Attorney General 'Umar 'Abd-al-'Ati; "More Than US\$50 Million Returned To the Treasury; the Campaign Against the New Penal Code Is Misplaced;" place and date not specified]

[Text] When the first session of the Constituent Assembly convenes on 26 April 1986, Sudan's transition government will have accomplished one of the four missions of the transition period as defined in the coup forces' charter. As for the other three tasks--eliminating the effects of May, solving the South Sudan problem, and [third task not mentioned in text]--many sectors of the Sudanese population feel that the transition government has been unsuccessful.

To find out what the other side--the transition government--has to say, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT sought out several ministers' opinions about these three tasks, starting with Attorney General 'Umar 'Abd-al-'Ati. The attorney general was born in 1943 at West Kurti, in the Northern Province, and graduated from Khartoum University's law school in 1963. He was a judge for 2 years, and then resigned and joined the office of Prime Minister Muhammad Ahmad Mahjub as a lawyer. He later opened a private law office and worked there until being chosen as attorney general after the April coup. Here is the text of the interview.

[Question] The settlements you have arranged have caused an uproar in political circles. Don't you think that these settlements are incompatible with the legal principles of reward and punishment?

[Answer] Reaching a settlement is a sound legal procedure, and a tradition followed around the world. There is nothing unique about the idea in the Sudan. As a legal convention, settlement implies that the authorities have the right to decide whether or not to lodge a complaint against any person. According to Article 215, the attorney general has the right to dismiss any case, even one which has been brought to court. As I see it, if a person



agrees to return public money in full, then in our present economic circumstances and conditions it would be foolish for us to reject any such offer, from anyone so accused, to return in full, over a period of 2 years, the money he plundered. Anyway, if we brought them to trial, we might obtain the same results, or a lesser verdict might be issued.

Settlement, in the above sense, does not include the original accused persons who figured in the previous regime, for these people must be brought to trial so that the people can know how they had been governing the country.

As for some merchants, agents and middlemen who were connected with the previous regime, who behind their huge profits were seeking shortcuts and legal loopholes, we are reaching settlements with them for the return of the state money they had taken. Looking at it from another angle, it would be useless to try them, since such persons can best be combatted by closing legal loopholes and creating a competent, upright administrative corps. Settlements reached with these parties I call "marginal cases." In addition to having returned the state funds in full, some of them have given testimony which has led to the conviction of others, such as Khidr al-Sharif. These are enough reason to stop legal proceedings against them.

From the legal standpoint, the settlements we have reached are well-grounded, and from the practical standpoint they are more advantageous and beneficial than clinging to judicial slogans without having enough evidence to convict those we bring to trial.

[Question] Has Khidr al-Sharif finished paying the settlement sum?

[Answer] Khidr al-Sharif has repaid most of the US\$15 million settlement sum, has also repaid part of the other \$10 million, and in the next few days will pay back the rest. About 4 million Sudanese pounds have been placed in escrow at our disposal in case he does not fulfil his obligation, but we do not want to spend it at all.

[Question] Why was the chief justice of the court of the 25 May 1969 coup government pardoned?

[Answer] The judge of the court of the May 1969 coup was pardoned for health reasons, which I assessed and agreed to, and also because of the hardship and stress he suffered during the Falasha Jew smuggling case. All rumors to the contrary have no basis in fact, and I have no time to reply to them.

#### The Penal Code

[Question] The new penal code has raised an outcry among legal circles, and has been described as being worse than the May laws and as a defacement of the Islamic Shari'ah. What is your comment?

[Answer] This entire description is reprehensible, as I have said on several occasions, referring to the amendments I have introduced into the penal code, such as raising the value of what must be stolen to constitute theft from 100 pounds to 1,800 pounds, and instituting the right to appeal before three

judges instead of just one, and then before three higher court judges, after which the verdict will be submitted to the chief of state for ratification of the punitive rulings.

We have also introduced punishment for the theft of state funds along the lines of the Malikite School's views, so as to end the inconsistency between cutting off the hand of someone who steals only 100 pounds and letting someone who steals millions to stay in his palace.

The code also stipulates that these punishments should not be applied to non-Muslims if they can prove that their religion calls for some other punishment.

Such things cannot be described as "worse." There is a great deal of confusion over the subject matter of the new penal code, since it is a draft law prepared by the legislative bureau. I personally disagree with some of its points, such as the wording of the article on apostasy, the use of the word "stoning," and other things. So far, the draft, along with the opinions of the legislative bureau, has not yet come to me so that I might give my consideration to it.

Those who have led the campaign against the code, who are basically opposed to the idea that we should be governed by Islam in our daily lives and dealings, include lawyers and journalists who are not so much against the law itself--the 'Abd-al-'Ati law, as they call it--as they are against any Islamic laws. They don't want the Shari'ah to prevail.

Those who have attacked me were hoping that I would abolish God's punishments. God forbid that I should do such a thing. When all their hopes that the punishments would be abolished failed, they promptly attacked me in their newspapers. Their provocations will not prevent me from enforcing God's way. All this frothing at the mouth will be of no avail or use to anyone, and will soon sink into the ground.

[Question] What about the role of the Constituent Assembly?

[Answer] All the campaigns stirred up against me and the code are misplaced, since I have not backed the draft and it has not yet been submitted to me.

[Question] Why don't you postpone this law to the coming Constituent Assembly for decision, instead of being subjected to misplaced battles, as you claim?

[Answer] We are preparing this law on orders from the cabinet, and I shall continue working on it until the last day I am so assigned.

[Question] The abolition of the state security law was retroactive. Is there a legal provision whereby the courts formed under this law's provisions will continue to function?

[Answer] Any law ceases to be effective on the day it is abolished. The courts which were formed according to this law will continue to function until the law expires. As for the question of the retroactive abolition of the law, it is limited. When the coup started, it was not intended that the state

security law be abolished, because the effects of May cannot be eliminated except through this state security law itself. It makes no sense for us to pass a new law in order to try the May group retroactively. If the state security law had not continued in effect, we would not have accomplished what we have.

#### You Are Accused!

[Question] The attorney general is accused of not responding to popular demands to abolish the September 1983 laws.

[Answer] It is debatable what stirred up the popular demands for the abolition of the September 1983 laws. The demands listed in the statement issued by the 3 April 1985 march did not include any so-called "popular" demand to abolish the September laws. We must not forget that some of the people taking part in the march were demanding that these laws be kept.

#### Seeking Numayri's Return

[Question] It appears that Deposed President Numayri will join the former presidents' club in Egypt. Is there any hope that he will be returned before the end of the transition period?

[Answer] So far, there has been no official response from Egyptian Interpol about handing him over, and I most definitely do not go along with the idea that the matter of handing over Numayri should be inflated. I don't think that it has reached the point of severing relations with Egypt, as some people are demanding.

[Question] As the transition government nears its final days, are you pleased with what the Attorney General's office has accomplished?

[Answer] In general, I can say that we have not accomplished as much as we wanted to. However, this office's accomplishments are amazing considering the resources available and the time factor. Personally, I am quite pleased with what has been accomplished during the transition period. The Attorney General's office has amended more than 50 May laws, and there are another 15 amendments before the cabinet. Furthermore, more than 40 investigations have been conducted, exposing many wrongdoers from the previous regime. More than \$50 million have been returned to the state treasury through the settlement procedure. Recommendations have been submitted on many matters pertaining to civil service reform and the like.

Several committees are investigating the banking sector, and they will find out many important, serious things. It is not necessary for all these committees to cease functioning at the end of the transition period. Besides, we have laid a firm groundwork for continuing this office's work and facilitating the job of the next attorney general.

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CSO: 4504/297

TUNISIA

COMMUNIST PARTY EXPRESSES AFFINITY WITH ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS

Tunis AL-TARIQ AL-JADID in Arabic 12 Apr 86 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Mohamed Harmel, First Secretary of Tunisian Communist Party, by Moustafa Touani and Abdelhamid Larcache: "The Country Needs New Leadership for the People's Movement"]

[Text] In the previous issue, we published the answers by Mohamed Harmel, first secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party, to the questions which political conditions in the country are bringing out.

In this issue, Harmel answers public opinion's questions regarding the opposition itself, its internal relations, its resources and its scope for action, and sheds light on the true nature of conditions within the Communist Party itself.

[Question] Some people consider that liberalization policy has reached a dead end and that the gamble of working within the framework of legality is no longer feasible.

What is your opinion regarding this conclusion?

[Answer] It is certain that the government has started to break up the policy of liberalization it launched in 1981 and has been restricting freedoms. Today, it is depriving the very movements which have been recognized of their lawful resources and is bearing its responsibilities in this direction. I believe that the road is blocked as far as this approach goes because it is a negation of the pattern of development and the people's aspirations, and it is also a negation of the law in its sound sense, that is, one which relies on constitutional legitimacy, democratic principles and the democratic gains the Tunisian people have realized.

As for us, our road, in spite of the difficulties which are obstructing it and in spite of the dangers that threaten it, is not blocked, because it relies on the pattern of democratic development, the aspirations of the workers and the people, democratic and constitutional legitimacy and the citizen's right to express his opinion even if that differs with the government, and it relies on the right of political movements to act, mobilize the



masses and defend national and democratic achievements. We consider all the achievements that have been realized to be a result of trade union and political struggles and sacrifices which successive generations have made before and after independence, before recognition of our party and after it. As for the law, it has become apparent in recent years, in particular, that the government does not respect it. It has not respected the law on trade union rights, with the arbitrary practices to which it has subjected trade union action, and it has not respected the recognized parties' right to activity and movement, to the point where some authorities recently deprived a Tunisian peasant in Madjil Bel Abbes in Kasserine Province of the water necessary for irrigating his land because he just joined the Tunisian Communist Party. Where is the law?

Therefore we will keep up the defense of national and democratic gains in their broad sense and we will continue our efforts to mobilize the masses belonging to various national and democratic forces by relying on this legitimacy. As for the government, it, through its arbitrary approaches, is striking at the credibility of political action which is founded on this legitimacy in the eyes of the citizen, and in practice is driving him toward surrender or other things outside political action.

As for the people who reject the democratic gains and consider them a gift from the government or "decor," they have not offered us any alternatives. The implicit alternative on which they base themselves lies outside this democratic combative approach and is founded on the unknown. We cannot build on the unknown, in the absence of mass action.

[Question] However, in spite of this interpretation, public opinion, following the fraud in the 1981 elections and the constant restriction on freedoms, no longer has much confidence in political action.

[Answer] It is one of our missions to resist this phenomenon, that is, to get the workers, young people and the broad segment of public opinion to take part in the struggles and liberate them from the capitulation to which the authorities are driving them. Our role is to persuade the young people and public opinion of the need for patient political action and the pursuit of struggles regarding all issues, including the imposition of respect for people's rights, which are always threatened with usurpation.

[Question] But in spite of that there is a view that the opposition, overall, lacks a full share of boldness and clarity of vision regarding the alternatives and contents itself with ad hoc declarations and oratory.

[Answer] As regards clarity of vision, let us not forget that the opposition is not a single party but a group of parties, each of which has its own visions, among which there are intellectual and political disputes and whose cooperation is founded on a common denominator whose basis is the need for common action among various ideologies and tendencies for the sake of common goals. We are not confined by all the positions of the other opposition parties in the evaluation of a given position, and no movement is supposed to confine itself to the things everyone is in agreement over.

Likewise, our belief is that the duality of opposition and government is a necessity which circumstances in the country, the government's options and



practices and the pattern of positive democracy dictate, provided that it not be an absolute duality and not mean that we ignore the ruling party or that we want to eliminate its role in the context of pluralism and its structure in Tunisia today and in the future. At times radical change, a decisive, active opposition, the mobilization of the masses and democratic combativeness do not rule out a responsible dialogue with the authorities concerning random issues, in exceptional circumstances which require total national unanimity. The authorities are the ones who are rejecting the dialogue, and the ones who have returned to the traditions of isolated action, monopoly and the single party mentality.

[Question] In this regard, you propounded the notion of a new historic bloc and its formation to play the part of an alternative in leading the masses' movement.

[Answer] We indeed propounded the notion of a new historic bloc in which there is a social element or the rise of new social groups in the leadership of the society in which a political and ideological element exists, that is, the structuring of the leadership role in form and content in a new direction connected to the increasing magnitude of the role of the workers, progressive forces and progressive intellectual and political tendencies, including, of course, change in the makeup of the authorities.

When we say a historic bloc, that means a historic objective which requires stages, struggles and periods and passes through numerous concomitant circumstances and forms whose features we cannot exactly now envision in a tangible manner. We present these as a goal, proceeding from the distinctive features of the crisis, the vacuum relative to the leadership of the masses, and the total or even partial filling of this vacuum. The goal will not be realized in a complete, rapid way; rather, it will be realized in stages. The tentative goal which has been presented to us all is what I call the building of a movement which is national and democratic in its goals and the composition of the numerous forces participating in it.

[Question] What are the most important short-term conditions which must exist to build a new national democratic movement?

[Answer] First, the student movement must emerge from a "vicious circle" and sterile struggles and be bound by ties in goals and struggles to the democratic movement in the country without sacrificing its particular features. This requires effort on the part of all student parties, especially the left, which has a progressive role in the present and future of the university and the democratic movement, and is now an important power which is almost being put on the sidelines.

Second, the trade union movement must emerge from a narrow group affiliation and isolation from the democratic political movement without sacrificing its independence. This orientation has started to assume concrete form in confronting the onslaught and it must sustain the struggle of rebuilding the union movement.

Third, the left and the various progressive and democratic forces must realize an intellectual and political transformation in which they will absorb

all the lessons of past experiences and rid themselves of trivialization, frozen structures and conditions of cliquishness. The Communist Party, as far as things which concern it go, is pursuing its own ideas in this direction.

I have no doubt that the effort to satisfy these conditions will help build an aware new movement which will have influence over the society, a movement which transcends the state of fragmentation and rivalries and in spite of its diversity and pluralism is fused into a single dynamic combative expression.

[Question] However, it often appears that relations among opposition movements are founded on ceremony. In this context, some people point out that the Communist Party's relationship with some opposition elements such as the Islamic Tendency inspires a sort of bewilderment and wonderment, and even doubt. What explanation do you have for that?

[Answer] We do not reject ceremony, because we believe in ceremonious civil relationships among people, no matter how their ideas might differ. In more appropriate, exact terms, if the positions of other parties and movements concerning some important issues in the country are in agreement, we concur with them. Indeed many people and friends, and even Communist parties, wonder about our relations with the Islamic Tendency, among them people who see a kind of political opportunism in this which sacrifices principles and does not appreciate the essential dispute between the Communist Party and the Islamic Tendency. There is no doubt that the Islamic Tendency, in turn, is subjected to the same questions from its circles, proponents and friends, domestically and abroad, who ask it about this dubious relationship with the Communist Party, which had been considered an enemy, a partisan of the devil and infidels, and so forth.

The subject indeed merits inquiry and study, theoretically and politically, and individual thought in order to grasp the new Tunisian state of affairs in its various dimensions.

First, we are not standing on ceremony with the Islamic Tendency regarding its ideological premises. Rather, we previously intensely condemned some of the positions which we considered entailed an infringement on the achievements of democracy and the intelligence in Tunisia, especially women's rights. We have said this most clearly, without any ambiguity, and we continue to have disputes with the Islamic Tendency on this and other matters over which we are not afraid or embarrassed to conduct an intellectual struggle. However, as far as we are concerned an intellectual struggle is not a matter of impulsiveness; we do not refuse dialogue with tendencies that differ with us.

Second, we concur and have concurred with the Islamic Tendency, as it has concurred with us, on some issues. Is this concurrence haphazard and opportunistic on the part of the two parties? As far as we are concerned it is not opportunistic. It is concurrence with everyone who declares his defense of freedoms or any just cause. We concur with them whatever their premises might be, even if they differ with ours in terms of theoretical

orientations. For example, we are against bribery, against patronage, against arbitrary action and against tyranny and are on the side of justice. There are people in the Islamic Tendency who believe in justice and hate tyranny from moral premises. We believe in justice and hate tyranny from moral and intellectual premises which differ philosophically from those of the Islamic Tendency. Such a concurrence is not strange. It has occurred in the history of all revolutionary movements.

Third, we have said from the very outset that the struggle is not between believers and non-believers, that the struggle is political, intellectual and social, that we are in agreement over this struggle and that it is possible for movements with various premises to reach agreement among themselves. The struggle is political and economic and we deal with the Islamic Tendency as a political movement as we interact with other movements and as an intellectual movement. We also hold a dialogue with it, or struggle with one another, on the subject of the orientation for our country which we seek to be progressive and democratic and a renewal of Arab and Islamic progressive values with a possibility that the Islamic Tendency might develop in a manner which will bring it to accept Tunisia as it is today and as it will be tomorrow, without adherence to frozen theses which have been carried out in Iran and other countries. We also are ready to renew our own intellectual premises and to look at the actual condition of various movements which are on our side and at our civilized, cultural and political environment in a spirit of dialogue, interaction and tolerance. When I say the spirit of tolerance, I do not thereby mean capitulation, the reconciliation of truth and falsehood or the patching together of progressivism with reaction or worship of old-line values with progressivism. Rather, we do not make concessions to worship of old-line values in regard to anything. We adhere to it in our heritage in its progressive standpoints and reject the dark standpoints. In this we are proceeding in the manner of Ibn Rushd and the reformist Arab philosophers, whom I consider more modernist and revolutionary than many contemporary people, because they managed within their historic limits to develop the legacy of thought and civilization and took and absorbed the latest things that mankind had attained in the form of sciences and ideas.

The moral in this is that we cannot interpret identity and genuineness as a return to the past (and what past? the progressive past? the dark past?), as if genuineness were a frozen commodity and not itself an evolved outcome of various generations, civilizations and influences. The moral also is that we cannot interpret what Ibn Rushd and the Arab philosophers and reformists produced as the ultimate in thought and reform. After Ibn Rushd and his intelligence, there came the dictatorial mentality, then there came dialectics in German philosophy, which transcended the dictatorial, then there came Marxism, which transcended the model dialectics. The moral also is that it is not permissible for us to take indiscriminately or critically from Europe or without adherence to our roots and our particular characteristics. Only Marxism has reconciled this dialectic between comprehensiveness and particularism, between genuineness and liberalism toward the age regarding knowledge and revolutionary activity. The people who have relied on it in a frozen manner and have not relied on its scientific and revolutionary spirit have been mistaken. Therefore, Marxism, by which we function, is either self-renewing regarding knowledge and revolutionary action, or does not



exist, and observes genuineness in our national soil and civilization, or does not exist.

[Question] In the first stage of the Communist Party's emergence into open status, it has been as if you are extending a hand to the other forces of the Marxist left. Has this hand found anyone to shake it, or is the road between the Communist Party and the Marxist left still blocked?

[Answer] We have for years tried to realize a dialogue between ourselves and the other forces of the left, to help rise above previous rivalries, most of which were sterile, and to realize a kind of grouping of the left around clear leftist positions. That has been on various occasions since the first day of the emergence into open status. We have given concrete form to many of them, during the festival of the new path, the centennial of Marx or "Marxist meetings" or in the framework of the newspaper AL-TARIQ AL-JADID itself. However, there still are obstacles and in this area we have not registered the success which events and tasks in the country and the role of the left in this society dictate.

The most important obstacle is not of our doing, and it still lies in narrow, prejudiced views which have not developed and have not evolved from an antiquated dry, frozen position. We are totally prepared to deal with it in an active manner, with respect for its particular characteristics.

I believe that the Tunisian left has a presence and has a history. At the beginning we were alone in representing the left in the history of the national movement. The left expanded to new groups outside the Tunisian Communist Party which in the initial period assumed forms hostile to the party, on grounds that they were to replace the Communist Party and condemn it for being "deviationist," although we recorded what we had achieved in development and transformation from some positions to others in which there was more liberalism, and an attempt to understand others, with the utmost contentment. We also recorded a transformation and development from left-wing elements to more open positions, more in the spirit of alliance. We did not register an adequate development so that a transition of change might occur in the balance of powers and the left might be turned into an effective force, not a fragmented force, part of it in the university and the other in the unions, ultimately struggling over an empty dominance.

[Question] There has been much talk in the recent period about a crisis within the Tunisian Communist Party and some people take the postponement of the ninth conference as evidence for that. What is your reply?

[Answer] Our conference is not a general meeting for speeches or propaganda. Rather, it is the result of serious intellectual, political and organizational preparation. To us, the preparation of any conference, especially the ninth one, which has a distinctive format and which we hope will be unique of its kind, requires efforts, discussion and the broad creation of participation which will make the preparation process a scientific and combative mode of expression in service of the workers, democracy and the people.

The postponement of the date of the conference came about because during the preparation process we met with difficulties and problems which we could not

remedy within the limits of this date and the time periods it imposed, especially since it was the first conference after the emergence into open status and after all the transformations which occurred in the party, and it became apparent to us that it would be better, before we set the date, for us to deal with the new problems which had arisen before us after qualitative and quantitative transformations had entered into the party and the society and numerous problems had been presented which provoke discussions which sometimes are serious, and even disputes and sometimes conflicting views and conceptions. We have not considered this to be a negative phenomenon; rather, we have taken it to be the result of these transformations which the parties and the individuals constituting it have gone through, which must be dealt with in a serious Marxist manner so that we can give concrete form to a proper, sound, unified intellectual, political and organizational plan. The party is old and new at the same time. Because of all this, rather than specify a date, we started the treatment or concentrated on it, and when it becomes clear to us that the preparation, discussions and matters have received their due we will then specify a date. Of course, that will be within a reasonable period, in execution of the principle "no hastening and no postponement." I can stress that things have started to receive their due and we are advancing with fixed, unified steps toward our ninth conference. As for the people who expect "difficulties" in the Tunisian Communist Party and dream of its fragmentation, breakup and marginalization, there is no doubt that the process of preparing the conference and the conference itself will thwart their dreams. We have agreed on the design of this procedure in order to unify all party efforts by means of important discussions regarding our progress and the construction of this party.

[Question] Are important changes expected to enter into the party's theoretical and political plan and its organizational plan in the wake of the coming conference?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the ninth conference assumes extreme importance and that it will try as much as possible to grasp the experiences of our combative and intellectual course with respect to the period following the emergence into open status and even, if possible, before the emergence into open status. The ninth conference will not take off from zero -- rather, it will be founded on a very important combative and intellectual legacy which must be seriously and critically evaluated in a manner where there will be an enlargement of positive features, along with support and general application of them, a renovation of some premises and practices and perhaps a rupture or an attempt at a rupture with negative aspects in various areas. That is a continuing act of theorizing which does not mean the total and absolute resolution of problems and total deliverance from all negative features at once; rather, it means continuous struggle in this direction and this context. In the framework of the preparation itself, a group of internal organizational, intellectual and political problems presented themselves to us which we have started to remedy in the context of the renewed critical orientation based on principle. For example, the issue of democracy in the party, how we exercise it and develop it: our party has transcended the old periods in which instructions from above concerning action at the base dominated in it, because the circumstances were secret or because it was believed that that was more feasible. The Communist Party is



not a military or semi-military party in which people and fighting men proceed by instructions. It is a living party in which there are discussions, views, sensitive feelings and intellectual battles, as well as theses, even subjective attitudes, revolutionary principles and the will toward unity. How can we retain this living, enriching formula to provide the wherewithal for broad party democracy, with the constant declaration and broad establishment of participation in discussions and decisionmaking and at the same time permanently preserve party unity and the party's ability to work, struggle, persevere and confront events, and even vicissitudes and arbitrary actions, and reconcile democracy and unity, discussion and organized action, freedom and discipline? This is a basic, ongoing goal, because democracy is a vital necessity for our party, as we want to build it, and unity, fighting spirit, committed positions and sacrifices are also a vital necessity for our party as we want it, so that it will not become threatened with fragmentation, breakups and the inability to act. All revolutionary parties are always threatened with breakups and fragmentation, in view of the class and intellectual environment in society and so forth.

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# ISLAMIC LEADER ASSERTS PRE-EMINENCE IN MOVEMENT

Tunis HAQA'IQ in Arabic 11 Apr 86 pp 23-25

[Interview with Hassan Ghodbani, Islamic leader: "Hassan Ghodbani States: Ghannouchi Is an Ordinary Person and Is Afraid of Me"]

[Text] [Question] "Imam" Hassan Ghodbani, as the Western papers call him, shifted from adopting Marxism as a scientific ideology to embracing Islam as a religion. What are the justifications for the abandonment of Marxism and the entry into Islam, while the case is that it is more appropriate to consider that "religion is the opium of peoples?"

[Answer] Before all else, I am an "imam" for myself, and not an imam for others. I appeal to myself and other people to adopt the master of the beginning and end, Muhammad, on whom be God's prayers and peace, as an imam regarding everything, if we want to proceed correctly along the road of truth in this terrestrial life, then victory on the day the articulation of testimony takes place. As to the answer to this question, it is as simple as the simplicity of truth, since Marxism does not quench the thirst of people who want to plunge deeply into the truth of things and penetrate their depths, and is incapable of answering the major questions on existence, such as the question of creation, the purpose of human existence, destiny after death and death itself.

Many questions pressed upon me from the depths of my conscience and the heart of my spirit when I was enamored of Marxism, and I sensed Marxism's inability to slake my thirst and provide me with that which would reassure me about what it was offering me. However, I found that the persons who were questioned did not know more than the persons who raised the questions, and we find that if we exclude the issue of the material reform of specific conditions, Marxism does not offer man much, and that the claim that Marxism is a scientific platform has no basis in truth but that it is an individual human theory and that what applies to all human activity in the form of error and validity applies to it. When I found that Marxism was incapable of realizing my desires, I turned to the study of a group of ideologies and religions, and I found none greater than Islam. It answered the innate questions which pressed upon me from within and thus I was liberated from all types of servitude and learned from the Koran that existence is two

existences, the existence of the lord and the existence of the servants. Between these two existences there is a purgatory; the lord does not seek to descend from the position of lordship and the servants do not seek to rise from the position of servitude. Everything except God is a servant. What drew me the most to the Koran is the legitimacy of creation, which it uplifts, calling on people to turn away from the worship of servants and to enter into the realm of the worship of the unique and all-triumphant: "Read in the name of your lord who created, who created man." Therefore, that is liberation: the one who creates is not like one who does not create; the one who creates is more deserving of followers and the one who does not create cannot hold up any legitimacy by which he can call on people to be his followers. It is just the one who has created that is the one who is worshipped: "I made them not witnesses of the creation of the heavens and earth, nor of the creation of themselves. I would never take those who lead people astray as supporters." Therefore I learned, through the legitimacy of creation which Islam presents, that there is no scope for people who are followers of anything but God, on grounds that he is a creator, to arbitrate other than God's law, on grounds that he is the lord of people, the king of people, the God of people, and therefore we are called upon to eliminate all lords except for God, and that is consciousness. As for what the Marxists claim, that "religion is the opium of the peoples," that might apply to wayward Christianity or delusive Judaism. The source for that is, q SE½Xk ½X the filth of fanaticism and the general belief which surrounded Western apostasy, which considers that Europe and the West are the focus of existence and human life, which is an error from whose consequences the time has come for us to liberate ourselves. Mohamed Iqbal has been a source of my guidance.

[Question] Mr Hosni Ghodbani has been present in the field of Islamic action over a period of a decade and a half approximately and his star shone until the eighties, then witnessed a partial eclipse. From the position of alienation, how does the Islamic scene in Tunisia manifest itself to you, where is it going and on what tendencies within it are you betting?

[Answer] What you have called a partial eclipse has not occurred. I have not been absent, but people always require reflection, review, close examination and self criticism. A person who does not is arrogant and soon falls into a labyrinth of mistakes and pride. In any event, with respect to the partial eclipse, for that you must refer to the regime, which has compelled us to suspend part of the work we do, which is to give lectures. The regime has prohibited me from doing that because it has drawn up a number of reasons and a number of modes of action for Moslems. I will content myself with this as far as the first lines of the question go and will not carry on with the answer, because of security reasons.

As to how the Islamic scene manifests itself to me, I can reply as follows: there are six Islamic tendencies on the Islamic scene in Tunisia today, among them ones which have been badly burnt from the security standpoint and by virtue of their security and political mistakes have come to resemble what is called the Islamic Tendency Movement, and among them ones which have just erred from the security standpoint and which have been partly exposed, such as the Islamic Liberation Party, which has gone through a succession of

trials because of security mistakes it could have avoided. There are other tendencies on whose description and presentation one cannot venture now for security reasons, because that would subject us to the same security errors the Islamic Tendency Movement succumbed to.

However, that does not prevent us from analyzing and evaluating, since it is the duty of every aware Moslem to have a position on what is going on on the Islamic stage in Tunisia. This is because a specific tendency seems as if it wants to seek total dominance over the notion of the group in Islam, wants to turn us into guardians and a monopoly for itself and thus perhaps wants to engage in a kind of tutelage over Islam and the Moslems in this country, thereby considering that a person who does not belong to it is outside the nation and that it is permissible to kill him, which is the height of error.

The notion of the group could have been thus had the prophet of God, on whom be God's prayers and peace, been among us. Now that orientations have become numerous, however, none of them has the right to claim that it is the "Moslem group" and the others are outside the group. The obligation now is for that error to be corrected, if the people committing it do not insist on continuing with it; otherwise, we will not be surprised when the mosques are changed into some churches so that intellectual clericism, clergy and the papal platform which someone in a specific tendency wants to impose in the name of Islam will be carried out in it, though Islam is blameless of this. Yes, I would not be surprised if some mosques were turned into churches, because appeals in the mosques, in accordance with their Islamic situation and by virtue of their form in the conscience of the Moslem, can be made only to God. As for dominance, intellectual clericism, the quest for enslavement by the church, the papal platform and intellectual terrorism which an individual is exercising in a specific direction in the name of Islam, that can be exercised only in the context of the churches. As for the mosques, they belong to God. This method brings forth only servants. As for free persons, they are brought forth only in the context of the mosques. As for the 'Islamic churches,' they bring forth only servants who prostrate themselves before the Pope.

The appeal to liberate oneself from this terroristic, Pharaonic platform must be carried out, and the people who have been afflicted by its suffering, its distress and its hardship must carry it out. Otherwise, the future will be worse for the Islamic scene in Tunisia. The platforms of the Moslem Brothers always and in many Arab countries brought a curse upon Islam and the Moslems, as happened in Egypt, Syria, the Sudan and Tunisia. I do not consider that the Moslem Brothers' platforms or the movements connected to them have a future. Indeed, the future will belong to the movements which have split off from the Moslem Brothers or those which have arisen independent of the Brothers. When I am speaking about the Brothers' platforms, I do not mean the ideas; rather, I mean the loathesome party practices which Islam loathes and is not content with.

The solution is for the young people in the Islamic tendencies to be liberated from every type of dominance and intellectual terror and for them not to make the appeal that they or the tendency they belong to are the only ones who possess the truth and that the others are proceeding along the road of waywardness.



In summary, one can state that all Islamic tendencies and sensibilities must play the role which Islam and the Moslems in this country are expecting of them and not allow themselves or others to dominate the notion of the group in Islam or to claim to exercise stewardship over Islam and the Moslems in this country.

[Question] In an explanatory statement in the name of the Islamic Consultative Tendency issued in the newspaper AL-RA'Y in spring 1980, it was stated that your watchword is embodied in "Arabhood is our strength and Islam is our choice." Where do you stand between Arabhood and Islam and where do you stand between the Arab adherents of Islam and nationalists?

[Answer] There is no doubt that Islamic youths are amazed when they hear this equation, because they have proceeded with the study of some modern books, especially the books of the Brothers coming from Egypt, such as the books of the martyr Sayyid Qutb. In these, Sayyid Qutb failed to free himself from tension and subjectivity because he was in an adversary state regarding 'Abd-al-Nasir and applied his adversary state regarding 'Abd-al-Nasir to his intellectual positions. This was the most dangerous thing to which a thinker could succumb, since it is the intellectual's duty not to be tense and irritable when he reconsiders his intellectual positions, and adversity must not play a part in the definition of these positions, especially if they are related to the Koran and Islam, as Sayyid Qutb defined them in "The Shadow of the Koran."

Thus, Islamic youths have derived a legacy from the conclusions of the struggle between the martyred Sayyid Qutb and Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, and one of the conclusions of this has been the apparent repudiation of nationalism and Arabhood. Some have even gone to the point of failing to respect the Arabic language, which is a mistake, because if we go back to the old interpretations of the Koran which their authors wrote in tranquility, in an absence of irritability and tension due to a certain adversary relationship, if we go back to these interpretations we will find that Islam does not negate the nationalist phenomenon and does not call for it to be fought; rather, it uses it on behalf of belief. It is impossible that Islam should negate or ignore realistic conditions and facts which are in harmony with and are the attributes of people. Islam only does not accept them if the bonds of belief are negated. If the bonds of belief are present, it combines and uses all the conditions and facts which will help in consolidating and strengthening the group. In this context, by returning to the genuine Koranic categorizations of the verse of the Chapter of the Apartments, "Mankind, we have created you male and female and made you races and tribes so that you may know one another: surely the noblest among you to God is the most pious of you," we find that Islam does not negate the nationalist phenomenon, but uses it after the formation of belief. We as Arab Moslems cannot sever ourselves from our race. We are Arabs who speak Arabic and in this context we need an organic relationship among ourselves. That is the most important fact, in addition to the land, history and the objective reality today; in no regard is the effort to unify it in the Arab context in the context of Islam in contradiction with Islam. Moreover, the international situation today requires that we form a force with which we can stand in the arena of the struggle of civilization, and this force cannot exist through



fragmented Islamic groups; rather, it must be combined in a firm unity which will be provided with the wherewithal for survival. I do not consider that there are facts which will cause one to dispense with unity among a group of Arab countries under the banner "There is no god but God and Muhammad is the prophet of God." I think that this appeal is of the essence of Islam, and this nationalist manifestation of belief for which we are appealing is not the nationalist manifestation Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir called for or the one Michel 'Aflaq called for. The nationalist manifestation for whose consideration we are appealing and for whose authorization we are appealing with respect to the unification of the Arabs is the manifestation of necessity and the objective facts under the banner of Islam, and is not the racist manifestation which considers Islam to be one of a group of things or a legacy which one can exploit. That is the meaning of "Islam is our strength and Arabhood is our destiny." People proceed from strength to realize their choice. Outside the framework of Islam, I would be the first to repudiate Arabhood and the first to combat it, because at that point Arabhood would be the father of ignorance and Arabhood would be the father of the flame, and Islam did away with that.

[Question] The Tunisian stage is witnessing a growth in the nationalist current with its various tendencies, which deal with Islam in different ways. The criterion for that is the difference which has emerged in the positions of Profs Midani Ben Salah and Bechir Said. What is your position on that?

[Answer] It is the nationalist current that the regime is afraid of, after the Islamic current, because in the context of the opposition, whether that be the recognized or non-recognized opposition, the regime is afraid of two things only, Islam in the first place and Arabhood in the second place. If the nationalist current has experienced growth in the recent period, that is in the nature of things and the necessity of self-awareness. We are Arabs, whether one likes it or not.

As for the nationalist current's dealing with Islam, let me add to that the answer I previously gave to the previous question, upon talking about our watchword "Arabhood is our destiny and Islam is our choice," which is that I consider that Prof Bechir Said is closer than prof Midani Ben Salah to an understanding of my position, and the source of this judgment is the statements of the two men issued in the magazine HAQA'IQ which I have read in recent days.

[Question] What is your position regarding polygamy?

[Answer] No one has the right to close a door that God has opened.

[Question] It is being circulated that you previously joined a single organization with the leaders of the Islamic Tendency Movement and it is being rumored that you were dismissed. What is the nature of the reasons for this dismissal and what is the background of this movement's position regarding you?

[Answer] I did not in the past join a single organization with the leaders of what is known as the Islamic Tendency Movement. What is meant by this

matter is that in the first half of the seventies there was a sort of concurrence between me and some of the people who now are in what is called the Islamic Tendency Movement as well as Mr Hmida Naifer, our brother Slaheddine Jouchi and Sheikh Mohamed Salah Naifer, but in that period I did not confine my contacts to them but had, and still do have, a relationship with the Tabligh group, the paramount sheikhs of Zeitouna and even some Sufic and other groups.

As to the issue of the dismissal, I did not join in order that I could be dismissed. Perhaps the same explanation lies with my relationship with Rached Ghannouchi. I was not easy and flexible enough to be a follower of his, and therefore there has been no dispute, except with him; I have no problem with anyone whatever regarding what is called the Islamic Tendency Movement. There just is a dispute of leadership which Rached Ghannouchi raised by means of methods which I would consider myself above using and engaging in.

[Question] Were there any major incidents as far as your relationship with Rached Ghannouchi was concerned?

[Answer] I have a number of major incidents, but I will mention one of them:

In 1972, Rached tried to create a connection between me and Mahmoud Subhi, secretary of the Islamic Appeal at that time in the Libyan Jamahiriya, so that I would go to perform the appeal for Islam in African countries or in Australia.

As of that time I started to understand his objectives as far as I was concerned.

[Question] What is your opinion regarding these people? Taieb Baccouche?

[Answer] He must read the Koran.

[Question] Khemis Chamari?

[Answer] His morals are much better than those of some adherents of Islam.

[Question] Abdelaziz Bouraoui?

[Answer] He is good at playing games.

[Question] Slaheddine Jouchi?

[Answer] He is an honorable Moslem fighting man.

[Question] 'Abd-al-Nasir?

[Answer] He knew how to serve himself and create glory for himself.

[Question] Sayyid Qutb?

[Answer] He is the martyr of the Koran and the charismatic figure of modern Islamic thinking.

[Question] Karl Marx?

[Answer] Mankind has experienced the greatest form of deviation at his hands.

[Question] Al-Qadhdhafi?

[Answer] He can be referred to and perhaps used as a source.

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TUNISIA

NATURE OF VARIOUS OPPOSITION MOVEMENTS REVIEWED

Tunis HAQA'IQ in Arabic 11 Apr 86 pp 17-20

[Article by Mohamed Maali: "Tunisian Political Parties: Oppositions within the Opposition"]

[Text] All signs indicate that the map of political parties presently known in our country will experience many transformations and changes in the next few years for a number of reasons, under the pressure of objective reality and also as a result of fermentation within them which is no secret to an observer following their developments.

Most Tunisian political parties and organizations have come into being recently (except for the Tunisian Communist Party and the ruling Destourian Party). Consequently, they have still been going through the period of initial growth, which is a very important fact, since these youthful entities mean, among other things, that growth in political and organizational terms has not been completed. For this reason specifically they are slated to proceed in one of two contrary directions, either rapid growth and the acquisition of giant status, or emaciation and shrinkage and consequently the assumption of dwarf status or oblivion.

At the outset we can classify the Tunisian political parties within three major ideological families. These can be broken down in the following manner:

The Family of Old-Line Parties and Movements

The Islamic Tendency (the Ghannouchi-Mourou-Jebali group or groups). It appears that disputes are breaking this group up. Some aspects of these appeared on the surface shortly after, or even before, the historic leadership of the Islamic Tendency's emergence from prison, in spite of the efforts of this organization's leadership to hide them or reduce their status, while it was a "Noah's ark" accommodating everyone!

The Islamic Consultative Tendency (the Ghodbani group). This group split off from the Islamic group before its current organizational structure took concrete form, at an early time, in accordance with ideological disputes (see the accompanying interview).

The Progressive Adherents of Islam (the Naifer-Jourchi group). This group, which was very active during the period of emergence of the Islamic current in the seventies, split off and from prominent positions in the magazine AL-MA'RIFAH participated in the appeal for ideological premises which started to appear on the sidelines of the Islamic movements in Egypt. It experienced one of its most prominent theoreticians in Hasan Hanafi. This group issued a special publication, 21/15, which subjected it to the anger of traditional adherents of Islam and epithets along the lines of "hypocrites" and so forth. While we classify this group within the core of the old-line groups, although some of its personnel sometimes classify it amongst the forces of the left, the reason for that is that this group has not made a rupture with the fundamental things that bring the old-liners together, the religious state in particular. In this context, for instance, it has not concluded with the premises of Cheikh Abdel Razik, who considers that Islam as a religion rejects advocacy of the religious state. (See his book "Islam and the Principles of Government.")

#### The Family of Centrist Parties

Leaders of these parties often describe their movements as "reformist" and "centrist," merely seeking reform of the regime under the aegis of constitutional legitimacy and presenting themselves as a political alternative at times and a possible participant with the ruling party in power. These parties and movements are:

The Socialist Democratic Movement. Mr Ahmed Mestiri has often described his movement as "reformist" and "moderate" or possessing a "reformist democratic socialist option with Islamic Arab roots," as one of its long-standing leaders, Dr Hamouda Ben Slama, has described it.

The Popular Unity Movement (under the leadership of Mr Ahmed Ben Salah) and the Popular Unity Party (under the leadership of Mohamed Belhadj Amor). The leaders of these two movements often describe their groups as belonging to the left. If it is correct to place them to the left of the group of old-line parties and movements as well as the ruling party, their premises and statements of reference, which have been transformed into the experience of "socialism" as they were applied in the sixties and by which the most prominent personnel of these two organizations still are drawn, in spite of the rift that occurred in the ranks of the parent movement, which turned it into two organizationally distinct movements, make these two organizations seem centrist in the eyes of people who study them. In addition to that, they place themselves to the right of the well known Marxist leftwing movements.

The rift in the wake of which the Popular Unity Two organization, which then bore the name of the Popular Unity Party, came into being, is not related to this party's political and ideological line as much as to internal developments, the issue of democracy and the power to make decisions within it.

The Nationalists. Apart from the Arab national Grouping, we cannot talk about a real nationalist organization in Tunisia. Indeed, we find that nationalists are independent individuals or people belonging to other centrist movements.



## The Family of Leftwing Movements

The organization Afaq (the Tunisian Group of Studies and Socialist Action) is the parent organization from which the well known left wing Marxist political movements and organizations such as the Tunisian Worker, al-Shu'lah and their offshoots, then, recently, the Progressive Socialist Grouping, have been produced.

This is aside from the Tunisian Communist Party, which is traditionally classed within this family.

## Oppositions within the Opposition

While these movements' opposition to the ruling party is a matter that is to be assumed, in spite of the differences in degree of their radicalization to the right or left, it is proposed that it be revealed that they themselves bear their own internal contradictions, that is, that blocs and groups exist within them which struggle among themselves and that blocs and leaderships confront one another as part of this struggle, turning most of them into fronts or groupings -- a matter that most of these movements themselves do not deny. We will restrict our discussion in this instalment to three organizations, the Islamic Consultative Tendency (under the leadership of Ghodbani, with whom we are publishing an interview elsewhere), the Socialist Democrat Movement which has experienced very important developments in recent years, and the Tunisian Communist Party, which experienced the first internal dispute within its core after 1956, leading to the splitoff of a group from it, the Trotskyist Kifah group, which was small in size. The dispute was focussed on this party's position on the authorities; it had taken the position of "critical support" toward them, while the Trotskyist group strove to push this party to take a more radical position toward the authorities.

The second rift has been that of what is known as the Bouarroudj group (see the accompanying conversation).

In the course of this year, disputes have come to the fore in the core of this party regarding a number of problems focussed basically on the manner of preparing for the conference. That was one of the reasons why its date has been postponed a number of times in succession, since a group of "schismatics within the party," as some members of this party itself described them, have made their appearance. However, the situation in reality has not reached the point of a rift. Rather, these people prepared a document in which they rebuked their leadership for positions which are more "flexible" than they ought to have been regarding the authorities, also rebuking it for not having been able to acclimatize itself to the circumstances of "open status" which require that it pursue new methods of functioning and adopt more decisive positions, thus holding it responsible for the party's failure to attract young labor forces, especially many of which left the party after they had joined it in the period of the past legislative elections.

## The Socialist Democrat Movement

After the upsurge the Socialist Democrat Movement experienced in 1981 and 1982, essentially during the period of the past legislative elections,

following the problem of the formation of an absolutely distinctive political movement with the Al-Ra'y group (Mr Hassib Ben Ammar and his group), this witnessed a number of "ruptures," where the persons involved "returned" to the fold of the Destourian Party. The ruling party cultivated this phenomenon and its press scored a scoop in publishing the lists of these people who had returned to its fold.

Perhaps one of the most prominent of these was Mr Mohamed Lamry, chairman of the movement list in the Sidi Bouzeid district in the legislative elections, who published a letter in the newspaper AL-'AMAL on 14 February 1985 declaring "My departure did not last long. A dispute between me and it (that is, the movement) clearly manifested itself, a dispute founded on the level of ideas and options of politics and civilization which made me incapable of adhering to its policy, and unpersuaded by it, because it was in contradiction with my political and intellectual belief. A freeze occurred in my political activity within this movement in April 1983 because of that. More than a year after the freeze on my political activity, I declared my rupture and my resumption of membership in the ranks of the Destourian Socialist Party."

In addition to these people who have broken away, there are other personnel who resigned for other reasons. These people are more politicized and most of them have preferred to maintain an "independent" position. Perhaps the most prominent of these are Dr Hamouda Ben Slama, Prof Said Nasser Berkaoui (member of the political bureau) and Mr Mohamed Laouni (member of the movement's national council).

#### The Independents' Criticisms

Dr Hamouda Ben Slama. Dr Hamouda Ben Slama was one of the founding leaders of the Social Democratic Movement. In the context of his movement he has been known as one of the "moderates" who want this to be a movement "democratic, socialist and reformist in orientation with Arab Islamic roots." However, the expansion of the movement, especially in the period preceding and following the legislative elections and the entry of young personnel from ordinary poor environments and deprived areas into the movement, and in particular the new facts the process of the falsification of the legislative elections had brought to the fore, which pushed the leadership of this movement in a more radical direction, keeping pace with the pressure of the people in its base, prompted Dr Ben Slama to react and try to confront the transformation of the movement into "a grouping of the left-center," as he described it in an internal document which he distributed among movement personnel. His position then evolved into resignation and maintenance of the position of an independent.

Mr Mohamed Laouni. Mr Mohamed Laouni is considered one of the middle-of-the-road personnel in the movement. He is member of the movement's national council and one of the motive forces of the movement's branch in his area (Mednine). He played an important role in the movement's first conference, where he read out the text of the ideological statement. His resignation from the movement occurred in the wake of a political dispute with its leadership, when he protested against what he expressed in his resignation

document (the 23 March 1984 position) as "an absence of true democracy, intellectual emptiness, obscurity of vision and constant recourse to unanimous votes or reconciliation, which eliminate all proper representation." However, he stressed that in spite of his withdrawal from the movement, he would remain "devoted to the same higher combative model, preserving full affection for all his friends within it."

Prof Said Nasser Romdhane. Said Nasser Romdhane is considered someone who came to the movement recently and bore the responsibility of leadership (membership in the political bureau and editorial board of AL-MUSTAQBAL). He has been known for his Nasirist nationalist inclinations and has considered that "there is no existence to the contradiction between my intellectual conviction and my membership in the Socialist Democratic Movement" (the position of 15 June 1985). However, he also resigned ultimately, when severe differences in conceptions on dealing with conditions broke out with the other members of the political bureau in the movement.

Mr Mohamed Moadia prefers to wage an internal struggle. Mohamed Moadia, who is a founding leader of the Socialist Democratic Movement, is known for being a "progressive nationalist with reservations." For a long period he supervised the editorial board of AL-MUSTAQBAL, the movement's organ, before abandoning it to devote himself full time to ideological and theoretical matters. He is to be assigned a major role to him in radicalizing the positions of the movement and pushing it toward more committed positions regarding Arab issues and hostility toward American imperialism. Mr Moadia hinted at resigning from the leadership of the movement in early 1985, but a review of the matter was postponed until the national council, which was held in the month of January of the same year, and the assumption of the task of arbiting between Mr Moadia and his opponents in the political bureau. Mr Moadia gave as the reason for his position a difference in views regarding the means for confrontation which the movement had to adopt toward the harassments which had been imposed on fighting men in the movement in the regions in particular, and his appeals for the formation of a political front which would combine all the forces of the opposition, in addition to a protest against the presence of two political bureau members at a dinner party which the American ambassador had organized, in which issues related to domestic Tunisian political affairs were raised for discussion. Mr Moadia has described the dispute as "ideological and political," but what the activities of this national council produced satisfied Mr Moadia and he withdrew his resignation. The matter might not merely stop here, since the development of the situation within the movement might have convinced Mr Mohamed Moadia that his movement was evolving in the direction of his ideological premises, toward "a grouping of the left center." Perhaps.

#### A Final Word

Our activity does not involve the historic mission of the course of political movements so much as it is aimed at setting out the foundation stones of a conception of tendencies in the development of these movements in a very mobile, changing environment in the course of a dynamic state of affairs whose main elements we still do not properly grasp. Followup of what issues forth from the political movements and analysis of the writings of their

leaders and members will guarantee in many cases that researchers will come into possession of some facts which will predict coming transformations and that they will not be surprised by explosions. Our role must not stop at monitoring what happens after it occurs, but must entail the observation of signs and a close grasp of the lines of possibilities of developments. It is an issue which invites followup.

11887

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TUNISIA

RENEGADE COMMUNIST DISCUSSES PARTY DEVELOPMENTS

Tunis HAQA'IQ in Arabic 11 Apr 86 pp 21, 22

[Interview with Nouredine Bouarroudj by Seloua Ghraissa: "From Paris: A Meeting with Nouredine Bouarroudj: The Causes of the Rift in the Communist Party"]

[Text] He studied in the Sadiqia Institute, joined the Liberal Constitution Party, like other people of his generation, and took out membership in the Bab Saadoun branch, where he lived. He spent approximately 3 years in the Constitution Party, then left the Constitution [Party] for the opposition in its midst, in opposition to the experiment of the government of the commissariat in 1951, because the development of the Constitution [Party] had elicited political ideas and touchy feelings from bourgeois circles since the composition of the Constitution Party was based on the principle of popularity. We asked him about his conception of Communism, and he replied:

"When I studied in Paris, I discovered that the European Communist experience combined nationalism and socialist ideas. At that time I started to absorb Marxist thinking and rushed into the Tunisian Communist Party with a group of opposition constitutionalists in order to break it up, since it was in the hands of opportunistic Tunisians and Tunisian Jews who had been affected by the ideas of the French Communist Party, were afraid of the notion of independence for Tunisia and worked to deal it a finishing blow.

"In all this, our view was preoccupied with combining the aspiration for independence with socialist thinking."

Question: What was the experience in the Tunisian Communist Party like?

Answer: In the Tunisian Communist Party we were faced, as we had expected, with the remnants of the policy of L'Union Francaise, instead of the policy of independence which we were defending, and we had political struggles concerning bringing to prominence a national policy and leadership whose composition would be Islamic, Arab and Tunisian. Among the things we achieved were:

1. Recognition of the Tunisian General Federation of Labor as a sole national organization for the defense of the rights of Tunisian workers.



2. Imposition within the party of the dissolution of the USTT labor federation, which was an extension of the France General Confederation of Labor.

3. We imposed self-criticism of the Tunisian Communist Party and its leadership, through which it confessed the failure to aim at a national policy in the context of the Tunisian national movement and its abandonment of the slogan of independence in the period of the forties. Among the officials at that time were Maurice Nazar, Mohamed Ennafaa and Mohamed Harmel. This self-criticism was recorded during the sixth conference of 1958.

4. The entry of a national group into the core of the Tunisian Communist Party, with Tunisian members contributing to the old policy.

At that time the Communist Party embarked on the process of applying a national policy which was in keeping with the goals of Tunisian society. In this period, a development occurred in the party's policy, since it swept over youth and labor circles. However, this activity was not destined to endure, in view of the challenge it sustained from the authorities and its proscription in January 1963 as a result of our criticism of the government's policy.

Question: Might we understand from this, therefore, that the Tunisian Communist Party's activities entered into the realm of covert status?

Answer: Yes, and the shift as far as we were concerned was difficult, since the balance of forces was in favor of the Neo-Destourian Party, especially since it directed a blow at the opposition movement at that time and we were accused of working to prepare for the 1962 conspiracy. However, the Communist Party managed to continue its struggle. It is worth mentioning that it did not change its positions toward the government's policy when that entered the stage of Destourian socialism and planning, especially after the Bizerte conference held in 1964.

Question: Since you consider socialism a step toward communism, how do you explain this stand in opposition to the socialist experiment in Tunisia?

Answer: Note that our position on the experience of the progressive policy of the sixties was supportive and our criticism was not negative. We stated that it was positive criticism. What we found fault with in this experiment was that we lacked Marxist scientific principles, which we consider necessary for every experiment of this type.

Question: What are the reasons for the rift at the heart of the Communist Party?

Answer: These are basically three:

1. The evaluation of the policy of the sixties, then the subject of alliances. This means that since the beginning of the seventies a debate has taken place within the Communist Party on the choice over the party's strategy and allies with whom one can deal in order to reach objectives.

There was a segment in the Communist Party headed by the trinity of Mohamed Ennafaa, Mohamed Harmel and Abdelhamid Ben Moustafa which preferred to make

an alliance with the liberals, including, in particular, Ahmed Mestiri. The other segment in the central committee considered that the basis for alliance in principle would be only with left-wing forces, including the forces loyal to the experience of the sixties.

2. In making a haphazard resolution to the debate, a bloc from the central committee was arbitrarily removed and the debate was forcibly terminated when a monopoly was established over the leadership of the party.

3. This is the basic point and the drop which made the cup spill over: it was related to the positions of this trinity which had usurped the leadership of the Communist Party and had as its objective a policy of opportunism toward the government which had the goal of obtaining a permit for a newspaper speaking in its name. Its positions were a usurpation of the people's activities; therefore, we determined to break off from the policy of the trinity which was monopolizing the name of the Tunisian Communist Party, and we published statements which expressed the Tunisian Communist Party's real positions. That was on 29 March 1980.

Question: Let us talk about the period after the rift.

Answer: During this period, a platform was selected which totally differed from that of the policy followed on their part. This platform was embodied in our rejection of all the illusions the government had produced, known as "democratic liberalization," because we believe that the basic options in the economic and social field had not changed and were embodied in continuing the course along the road of subordinate capitalism.

In the context of foreign policy, the cabinet, like others that had followed it, retained its orientation toward the party and toward the United States of America in particular. Also, in the context of social policy, it basically relied on intensifying the benefits of fortunate groups which had become prominent and developed during the seventies, obtained important positions in the Tunisian economy and become rich in a rapid manner.

In the context of the pursuit of rights and freedoms, one can speak without embarrassment: the government, in spite of its many promises, has not abandoned the policy of arbitrariness.

Mr Harmel's group believed, along with other liberals, that liberalism, in spite of the continued policy of subordinate capitalism, would lead to the assertion of democracy in the country, and this made them rush into the election campaign in October 1981 with the Democratic Socialists and the Popular Union Party.

The falsification of the elections did not convince them. Rather, they continued with their gross error and talked about the faltering of the democratic course, continuing their support for the government's policy. Then the government, after its blow against the currents which continued not to be recognized, tried to co-opt and satisfy the participants in the elections, giving the Democratic Socialists a permit on the one hand and striking out at the Popular Union with the other. Through all these means, the noose was

tightened about the opposition parties until they declined to enter the municipal elections held in 1985. We consider this an implicit recognition of the frustration of the democratic course. However, the insistence of Mr Harmel and the liberals remained total, because they found themselves in a dilemma.

Question: What is the nature of your relationship with the Tunisian Communist Party at the present time?

Answer: There is no relationship between us, and no link. Each of us represents an organization independent in its own right. However, we note that many of the people who belong to Mr Harmel's organization are now in a state of confusion as a result of the contradiction between the official political directives and the events taking place, which have given the lie to their leaders' gambles.

Finally, we tell all fighting people, especially those who are in opposition and remain on the list of people condemning their leaders' policy, that the possibility of opening a debate among all the people affiliated with Communism is pertinent and it is not to be rejected, for our part, but the debate will be feasible only if it is founded on a basis of a real objective evaluation of the conclusions of the platform of the seventh conference and the policy of the current leadership, then the abandonment of all mistakes, which have become well known.

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TUNISIA

STATUS OF TRADE BALANCE, COMMON MARKET EXPANSION REVIEWED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 12-18 Apr 86 pp 30, 31

/Interview with Economy Minister Rachid Sfar by Rashid Khashanah: "We Have Managed To Absorb Many Economic Blows"/

/Text The Tunisian economy has been faced with three main challenges for some time. These are expansion in the European Common Market, which has resulted in closing the door to exports for many Tunisian agricultural and industrial products, the decline in the prices of oil and phosphates, two basic sources of hard currency, and the expulsion of about 33,000 Tunisian workers in Libya. How have these three difficulties been dealt with? Rachid Sfar, the Tunisian minister of economy, who is well known for "keeping up" his files well, answered the question in this conversation, which he had with AL-TADAMUN in the Tunisian capital.

AL-TADAMUN: The negative effects of the expansion of the European Common Market have started to be reflected on the economies of the Maghreb countries. How is Tunisia facing these new conditions?

Minister Rachid Sfar: Since the conclusion of the Cooperation agreement between Tunisia and the European Economic Community 10 years ago, economic relations, and commercial ones in particular, have been subjected to successive crises because of the protection measures the European Market has taken regarding Arab commodities in general and Tunisian ones in particular. Since 1977, that is, less than a year after the conclusion of this agreement, the protection measures in the field of textiles caused great damage to be inflicted on the development of this sector in Tunisia, which was young at that time, and one can say that since that setback the textile sector has become constantly threatened and has not experienced the development desired.

As a result of the expansion of the European Market, initially to Greece, then, starting in 1986, its inclusion of Spain and Portugal, the repercussions through the closure of a market which will gradually become self-sufficient, and even exporting in some economic fields competing with Tunisian goods, will be very bad. These conditions will have negative repercussions on Tunisian agricultural materials from a number of economic, political and even social angles, such as job opportunities, which are faced with the threat of



contraction. Since the conclusion of the 1976 agreement, agricultural materials, especially olive oil, alcoholic beverages and citrus fruit, and even some grain and vegetables (such as tomatoes), have started entering the European Market with increasing difficulty, in view of a number of customs and non-customs measures which the Common Market has taken and is still emphasizing and increasing in complexity and support.

To cope with these negative aspects, Tunisia is convincing the European Market countries of the need to keep the volume of trade with Tunisia in these products at its customary level, especially since there is no doubt that this trade is traditional in character. In this regard, Tunisia is pointing out on all diplomatic and political levels that the cooperation agreement concluded in 1976 is being violated in an organized manner by members of the European economic group and that it is mandatory to go back to the provisions of this agreement. The countries which belong to the European Market have been informed that a reduction in the volume of trade between Tunisia and the market countries will have negative effects on Tunisian imports, because it is our exports to Europe that provide us with the necessary financial resources for importing from these European countries and we import primary materials, semi-processed materials and equipment from them which support the growth of these countries' economies. On the other hand, we have sought to diversify our foreign markets, and Tunisia today is pursuing an export policy which is aimed basically at orienting itself toward new foreign markets in Europe (outside the Common Market), America and the Arab, African and Asian countries.

/Question/ Phosphates and oil account for an important portion of domestic income. Will the current crisis affect this status? Will Tunisia turn toward other sectors so that they will become the backbone of the economy?

/Answer/ There is no doubt that oil and phosphates have an important position in the Tunisian economy, ~~SINCE THEY ARE CONSIDERED~~ among the most important resources in Tunisia and have contributed a large share to economic development, especially during the past decade. As an indication of the importance of these two sectors to the Tunisian economy, we can point out, in particular, that oil exports account for about 40 percent of Tunisia's sales abroad and also contribute close to a third of the government budget's regular income. As regards phosphates, their value is prominent not just as a raw material but also in particular as they are a basic material for the chemical industries, which account for about 18 percent of Tunisian exports.

Since the production of oil, phosphates and chemical materials is basically oriented toward exports, they are affected by the development of the international economic situation. Therefore, the money from our oil sales has experienced a great retrenchment, estimated at 27 percent in the period extending from 1981 to 1985, and it is expected that prices will deteriorate more and more in the future; this is something that will affect the country's hard currency revenues and also the volume of budget revenues. In addition, phosphate and chemical prices dropped by approximately 30 percent in the



period from 1981 to 1985. In spite of this situation, which arises from a crisis from a crisis in marketing, the domestic economy has not been greatly affected when we realize that our exports have become diverse and are not restricted to just two sectors but rather are based on a number of sectors. The government has devoted substantial care to agriculture as part of a clearly-defined policy aimed at ensuring self-sufficiency in food and encouraging exports.

It is also worth pointing out that the tourist sector is considered important and one on which the Tunisian economy depends as an important source of hard currency. This area has experienced substantial development in recent years. Tunisia has become a final destination for a number of tourists in view of the reputation it enjoys. Care has also been directed since independence to developing the industrial sector, since the textile industry now occupies an important position relative to exports of Tunisian commodities, 20 percent in 1984, thanks to the encouragement given to industrialists in this area. We can also point out that the government has been working for years to develop the chemical industries by generating a number of projects to convert phosphate and produce fertilizers. A number of agreements have also been concluded related to the modernization of joint projects in friendly countries which will inevitably enable us to guarantee the marketing of significant quantities of phosphate. In addition, the Tunisian experience in this field will be used to strengthen cooperative relations with these countries, among which we might single out for mention Turkey, China and perhaps India and Pakistan at a stage to come soon.

In another area, we are seeking to intensify industrial projects which will help strengthen Tunisian industrial textiles and develop and diversify exports. These projects are connected to such sectors as machinery and electric industries, the manufacture of agricultural machinery, the manufacture of equipment materials and so forth. From this standpoint, it is clear that all the circumstances for confronting the marketing crisis and firmly continuing the development process, are present.

/Question/ What measures has Tunisia taken to cope with the return of the more than 30,000 workers expelled from Libya? What is the National Solidarity Fund's role in reincorporating them into the productive process?

/Answer/ About 33,000 Tunisian citizens have been subject to expulsion by the Libyan authorities in circumstances of which the least we can say is that they are tragic. However, with praise to God, we have managed to cope with this situation decisively and successfully, since, as thorny as this matter has been, the solutions we have oriented ourselves toward have been successful and immediate, since the measures taken have been characterized by rapid intervention to absorb the greatest possible number of workers and exploit the resources and capabilities available to guarantee job opportunities for them. Development programs have also been bolstered in order to enable them to help the persons who were expelled.

In this context we might point out that all the institutions and parties concerned with employment in the form of departments, proprietors of organizations and so forth are working to help all the people who have been expelled from Libya and give them absolute priority until they are merged into the economic process in good circumstances.

In another area, the resources available to the national fund to uplift traditional industries and small crafts, the productive family program, the youth employment program and the incorporated rural development program have been exploited. In this regard, it has been possible to provide many job opportunities by granting cash stipends or bequests in kind to create job opportunities in the family context or to generate small projects by providing the necessary shares of money the workers are to contribute to obtain loans from the fund to uplift traditional industries and small crafts.

/Question/ Relations with Algeria have experienced an obvious improvement. Since the signing of the treaty of brotherhood and good neighborliness. What are the economic repercussions of this political rapprochement? What has been achieved between the two countries in the realm of bilateral cooperation?

/Answer/ Since the signing of the treaty of brotherhood and good neighborliness, Tunisian-Algerian relations have constantly improved and become diversified to include various economic areas. In the realm of trade, the volume of trade developed in perceptible fashion in 1984, totalling about 80 million dinars (\$60 million) as compared with 17 million dinars in 1983. This development continued in 1985 and 1986, since the volume of trade in the first 6 months of 1985 came to 50 million dinars as compared with 30 million dinars relative to the first 6 months of 1984.

As far as coverage goes, that is nearly 40 percent in Algeria's favor. The materials traded experienced great diversification, including approximately all the materials produced in the two countries. One can stress that the same impetus is to be observed clearly with respect to cooperation in the other economic areas, in that a number of higher Tunisian-Algerian institutes have been created, of which we might single out for mention the institute for development financing, whose headquarters are in Tunisia, the customs institute, whose headquarters are in Algeria, and the secondary institute of Sakiet Sidi Youssef (the border town which the French air force bombed in response to raids by revolutionaries concentrated in Tunisia). In the financial area, we have established joint projects among which we can single out for mention the Maghrib Bank, whose headquarters are in Tunisia, and the financial agreement between the Tunisian Central Bank and the Algerian Central Bank, by virtue of which trade is allocated to the two countries' currencies. In the area of technical cooperation, the number of Tunisian specialists currently working in Algeria in all areas of specialization comes to 282.

In the industrial area, relations have developed substantially, since a number of joint projects have been carried out and thought has been given to others. These all give a new impetus to industry in the two countries. The

The projects it is intended to carry out lie mostly in the border areas. This will have the effect of giving these areas more opportunities for economic growth and consequently raising the standard of living in them. We believe that cooperation in the industrial area between Tunisia and Algeria is the best avenue for realizing the desired economic integration. The projects which have been created so far are:

A unit to produce diesel engines, which provides 700 job opportunities

The Tunisian-Algerian white cement company, which provides 320 job opportunities.

The Tunisian-Algerian (baruq) manufacturing company, which provides 140 job opportunities. The projects which have been studied, which we hope will enter the construction stage, are the project to create a factory to produce iron frames, the project for a high-voltage electric transformer factory (in Algeria) and the project for another factory in Nafta (Tunisia).

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KUWAIT

## FEATURES OF NEW POLICE BILL OUTLINED

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 6 Mar 86 p 10

[Interview with Hamud al-'Utaybi, Ministry of Interior's Assistant Undersecretary for Legal Affairs, by 'Abbas Nazim: "Lieutenant General, General, Warrant Officer, and Chief Warrant Officer Are New Military Ranks in Kuwaiti Police Force"]

[Text] Hamud al-'Utaybi, the Minister of Interior's assistant undersecretary for legal affairs, has asserted that the new police bill presented to the cabinet consists of 112 articles and 4 sections. The assistant undersecretary has also said that what is new in this law is that it calls for the formation of a higher police council under the chairmanship of the minister of interior to propose the ministry's general policy, to develop its agencies and its method of work, to plan its manpower and to exercise control and supervision over it. He added that there are four new military ranks in the new law, namely the ranks of lieutenant general and general to which officers are promoted from the rank of major general and the ranks of warrant officer [musa'id] and chief warrant officer [musa'id awal] to which promotions are made from the rank of master sergeant [ra'is 'urafa']. Hamud al-'Utaybi has also stated that the ministry will follow a new policy in rewarding and punishing policemen and that this policy will enhance the work. Moreover, the new salary scale encompasses numerous incentives. Al-'Utaybi has further said that the new law prohibits police officers and policemen from engaging in commercial activity or in politics and from purchasing real estate or movable assets from the Ministry of Interior. The assistant undersecretary has also outlined the conditions that must be met by guards to be made policemen. This has been stated in an exclusive interview given by the assistant secretary to the Security Page. Following are the questions and Hamud al-'Utaybi's answers:

### Justifications

[Question] What are the justifications that motivated the Ministry of Interior to issue a new police law?

[Answer] Shaykh Nawwaf al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, the minister of interior, issued a decree forming a special committee to draft a new law for the police force to enable it to keep up pace with the development and progress undergone

by Kuwait, considering that the current law was issued in 1968. The minister gave the committee his instructions and his advice before the committee started drafting the law, stressing that there is a dire need to keep up pace with the development in all aspects of the state's life which undoubtedly includes the police agency. The said committee completed drafting this law and thus avoiding the deficiencies existing in the current police law.

#### Articles and Sections

[Question] What does the new law consist of and how many articles does it comprise?

[Answer] The law consists of 112 articles and 4 sections. The first section deals with introductory rules and defines the police system and those of whom the police force consists. It also deals with the military ranks of the officers, noncommissioned officers, and privates. The second section deals with the public police jobs, with filling these jobs, and with evaluating the policeman's competence. The third section deals with the policeman's rights and duties and the fourth section deals with the general and interim rules.

#### What Is New

[Question] What is new in the law?

[Answer] What is new in this law is the formation of a higher police council under the chairmanship of the minister to propose the ministry's general policy within the framework of the state's general policy, to draw up the ministry's plans, to develop its agencies and its method of work, to plan for its manpower, to control and supervise this manpower and to examine whatever pertains to the force's affairs, and whatever the minister of interior deems fit to present to the council. The council may also form subcommittees to conduct studies or to follow up on issues referred to them by the council.

#### Military Ranks

[Question] Are there new military ranks in the law?

[Answer] There are 4 new ranks in this law, namely the ranks of lieutenant general and general to which officers are promoted from the rank of major general and two ranks for privates and noncommissioned officers. These are the ranks of warrant officer and chief warrant officers to which promotions are made from the rank of master sergeant.

#### Salaries

[Question] What about improving the police salaries?

[Answer] The law includes a new scale for policemen's salaries. The committee has proposed the appropriation of generous sums for salaries in order to attract good Kuwaiti elements.



## Reward and Punishment

[Question] Has the new law defined a policy for the ministry on rewarding and punishing officers and policemen?

[Answer] The law has defined in a clear and unambiguous manner a new policy which the ministry will implement with the implementation of the law. The immediate superior will have to evaluate annually the competence of the policemen he heads and must submit reports on the policemen he deems to be excellent and those he deems to be incompetent, explaining the reasons for the excellence or the incompetence. The superior must send his report to the authority concerned which will be determined by a decree issued by the minister of interior. The law also deals with the position of a policeman who receives in 3 successive years 3 final evaluation reports stating that he is incompetent. The matter is then submitted to the minister. But if he receives a fourth evaluation of incompetence, he will be dismissed from the service. There are big incentives in the new law for those who are industrious and excellent.

## Enrollment

[Question] How does enrollment in the police agency take place in the new law?

[Answer] Section two, which deals with the public police jobs, defines the method of joining the police force through appointment, voluntary enrollment, transfer or appointment from among recruits. The appointment prerequisites stipulate that the applicant must be a Kuwaiti citizen who is 18 years or older, that he must be fit physically, that he must have no criminal record, and must not be convicted of any crime violating honor or trust. As for officers, it is stipulated that they must be graduates of the police academy or of another academy recognized by the State of Kuwait. The law also permits the temporary appointment of non-Kuwaiti citizens.

[Question] What do we mean by the duties and rights in the new law?

[Answer] They begin with the officer's or private's right to a salary. The new law defines what a salary is. It also states that a policeman must personally carry out the work entrusted to him honestly and carefully, must treat the citizens properly, must devote the work hours to perform his job duties or to carry out the instructions given him precisely and honestly and within the limits of the law, must protect state property, must abide by the dictates of honesty in spending state money, must preserve the dignity of the job, and must behave in a manner compatible with military duty.

## Ban

[Question] According to the new law, are policemen entitled to engage in commerce?

[Answer] The new law is clear on this issue. It differs from the current law on the details. The new law prohibits policemen or police officers from engaging in commercial, industrial, or vocational activity. It also prohibits them from purchasing or leasing real estate or movable property from the Ministry of Interior and from having an interest in contract work or bids connected with the Ministry of Interior's activities. The law further prohibits policemen and officers from doing work for others for wages or for no wages, not even outside the official work hours. It also prohibits them from exploiting their jobs, from revealing information that must remain confidential, and from keeping official documents in their possession.

#### Engaging in Politics

[Question] Does the new law entitle a policeman to engage in politics or to join an association or a union?

[Answer] In accordance with the new law, policemen are prohibited from engaging in politics or joining an association or a union other than those designated for the police without a written permission from the minister of interior.

#### Promotion Prerequisites

[Question] What are the prerequisites for the promotion of officers?

[Answer] One of the prerequisites of the promotion of officers up to the rank of colonel is that the officer pass a course called the promotion course. A chief warrant officer may be promoted to the rank of lieutenant if he meets the following requirements:

Must hold a general high school certificate, must have spent 15 years in the service, must have completed 4 years as chief warrant officer and must enroll in and pass a training course.

#### Guards

[Question] What does section four of the law deal with?

[Answer] The fourth and final section deals with transferring Kuwaiti regular guards [watchmen] who are physically fit and are in the service to the police ranks, provided that they are no more than 40 years old. Non-Kuwaiti guards may also be made policemen on a special contract if they meet the same conditions. Guards who are more than 40 years old upon the enactment of this law will continue in their present work.

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KUWAIT

## PROPOSAL ON DEALING WITH UNPAID LOANS EXAMINED

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 6 Mar 86 p 14

[Article: "AL-QABAS Publishes Study Submitted to Financial Committee on Forming Company for Difficult Debts: Clearing Company Is Proposed Framework, with Objectives Amended and Capital Raised to 100 Million Dinars; Differences on Company Ownership Settled in Favor of Banks and Investment Firms; Debt Reduction and Flexibility in Assessment and Rescheduling Are Essential for Company's Success; Transferring Unserviceable Debts to Company Relieves Banks of Their Problems"]

[Text] AL-QABAS publishes here the study conducted by 'Abd-al-Salam al-'Awadi on forming a company to purchase the difficult debts referred to by the report prepared by the National Assembly's Finance and Economy Committee in response to the report made by the minister of finance and economy on dealing with the country's economic conditions.

The emergence of the "unserviceable" debts in the local banks--debts emanating fundamentally from the decline of the borrowers' assets--and the problem these debts pose to the local banks, especially in connection with preparation of the banks' final accounts, have given rise to the idea of forming a company to purchase these debts from the local banks and from the three main investment firms in order to control this problem and to solve it in a way that does not affect the banks' activities and their final accounts at the end of the year.

### Forming Company

Some differences have developed over forming the company or, to put it precisely, over the company's ownership. The local bank's believe that the company should be owned in partnership with the government whereas the government, represented in the Ministry of Finance, believes that this company must be formed by the banks, without government participation.

It is our belief that the problem does not lie so much in the company ownership as it lies in the degree of support the company will need after it is founded, especially its need for soft-term deposits or for some fiscal instruments that require to be subsidized by the Central Bank.

Generally, the company is supposed to be formed by the banks and the three investment firms. Assistance may be sought from the Kuwaiti Clearing Company which was founded in September 1982 by the banks collectively, the three investment firms, and the Public Social Insurance Agency.

In view of the importance of the element of time in this regard and because the Clearing Company possesses the manpower resources and the fiscal instruments that enable it to start the work immediately and because all that is needed is to modify the company's objectives, adding to them a number of new objectives, and to raise its capital from 6.5 million dinars to a minimum of 100 million dinars, the Public Social Insurance Agency's stock can thus be purchased by the other shareholders, considering that this agency is not concerned with the debt problem. Consequently, the Clearing Company can launch its activities to solve the problem of the unserviceable debts.

#### Work Mechanism in New Company

The local banks and the three investment firms should transfer all their unserviceable debts to the new company so that these institutions' budgets may come out in a strong and healthy financial position--a position which will have an impact on the institutions themselves, on the stock market's conditions, and on the country's economic activity in its entirety. So that it may not be said that the banks have transferred their problem to another company, this company is likely to be owned, as we have pointed out, by the banks and by the three investment firms. Consequently, should the company incur losses or make profit from the debts transferred to it, the losses or profits will ultimately revert to the company's main owners.

When these debts are transferred to one side indebted to the banks and investment firms, the situation will be much better than having a large number of indebted parties. Pursuing these indebted parties throws a monkey wrench into the banks' and investment firms' activities, as is the case at present in the banking sector, thus diverting the banking officials from their fundamental work. This in itself constitutes a big waste of these institutions' funds.

When this step is taken to combine all the unserviceable debts in a single company capable of engaging in some activities in which the banks cannot engage by virtue of their being bound to certain technical banking criteria, this company is supposed to perform certain tasks which the banks cannot perform, particularly in connection with reducing interest rates, for example, or with taking into consideration future criteria in assessing the indebted parties' assets, and even in connection with rescheduling the debts. This company can adopt rescheduling bases different from the specific bases acknowledged by the banks.

To put it briefly, what is required is to give this company broad and flexible objectives so that it may be able to solve the indebtedness problem.

## Executive Steps for New Company's Work

A. If the step of transferring the unserviceable debts to the new company is made, then these debts must be rescheduled by the banks and the company for a period of 10-15 years, The company may issue bonds for the debts to the banks and investment firms.

Discounting the bonds at the Central Bank must be arranged in accordance with each bank's needs, exactly as in the case of the securities which the banks currently discount at the Central Bank (car dealerships' bills and other bills). These securities are discounted on the basis that they are issued by commercial firms with assets. The same applies to the new company, considering that it will be in possession of the mortgages for the debts transferred to it which are to be settled at a later date between the new company and the borrowers, especially since the party in charge of the new company is its owners, i.e., the local banks and the investment firms. Consequently, there is no harm in discounting the company's bonds like any other bills or securities currently discounted at the Central Bank.

B. If this step is made, the banks will have organized their loan purse and their positions with the Central Bank. They can then proceed to work anew and to form a new loan purse founded on firm bases and criteria.

Improvement in the banks' conditions will have a major impact on reinvigorating the economy and the securities market, thus initiating a new revival cycle.

A major question is raised in this connection: How will the clearing company dispose of the debts transferred to it and the problems these debts carry with them and how can the debts be settled?

C. The answer to the question is summed up in the following:

The clearing company begins its work by examining the position of each borrower according to his circumstances and capabilities and asks him for a new "financial position" statement with copies of the financial position statements he has previously submitted to the banks.

Each borrower's financial position is examined according to the following bases:

1. If the borrower has any assets in the local banks, he shall remit them to the clearing company immediately to settle his debts, regardless of whether the assets cover the debt fully or partially.

2. If the clearing company has any doubts that the borrower has transferred money abroad, it may, in cooperation with the banks, examine such transfers for the past 3 years. If it is found that transfers have been made, the borrower shall be asked to remit these sums to the clearing company to cover his debts.



3. The clearing company may also find out for certain whether the borrower has received any sums of money from the Small Investors Fund, may verify how he has spent such sums, and may find out whether he has paid monies to carry out decisions made by the Arbitration Council or whether he has repaid part of his debts to the local banks.

4. The clearing company may find out for certain whether the borrower has sold state-issued shares at subsidized prices and whether he has used the money from the sale to repay interest due to the banks or to carry out sentences issued against him, for example.

To help improve the financial positions of the indebted, bond No 4 of the Stock Agency's bonds can be credited by the company at face value to reduce the indebtedness.

The 1 percent which the indebted have paid to the Small Investors Fund can also be reimbursed. A law is, of course, required to reimburse these sums to the indebted because this percentage was set by a law (Law No 59/82).

If these sums are reimbursed to the indebted, they will contribute to reducing their indebtedness and will be paid to the new company directly.

This is in addition to examining the possibility of reducing the volume of the interest paid from 1981 to the end of 1985, especially in the case of high interest payments which amounted at times to 20 percent, thus violating the Central Bank law. But the banks loaded the borrowers with these interest rates under various names, such as "obligation fees and others."

Consequently, there is no harm in reducing these interest rates for the past 4 years by a certain percentage (30 percent, for example) to help the positions of the indebted who have been saddled with accumulated interest dues in the past 3 years in which the revenues diminished at a time when the interest meter kept on ticking, thus doubling the volume of the debts.

D. After the liquidity position of the indebted is verified, his assets can be examined and evaluated on future bases and not on the basis of the current prices which are very low. This should be done to float and (as much as possible) rescue the indebted, not to make them go bankrupt.

As for the bases on which the assets are to be evaluated, they are the following:

1. Productive Real Estate (Buildings): Such real estate should be evaluated on the basis of a certain percentage of the annual income ranging from 3-5 percent, depending on the condition and location of the real estate.

2. Open Land: Should be assessed on the basis of the average of the 1980-85 prices and according to the location and importance of the land.

3. General Kuwaiti Corporations: Should be assessed on the basis of the November 1984 prices or the basis of 75 percent of the government subsidy prices prevalent until 30 April 1984.

4. Gulf Corporations: Should be assessed on the basis of the average of the 1981-85 prices.

5. Kuwaiti Limited-Partnership Corporations: Should be assessed on the basis of the average of the 1982-85 prices.

Upon assessing each borrower's position according to the abovementioned criteria, the clearing company can then offer the borrower numerous options to be agreed upon.

There will be three categories of borrowers:

1. A group of borrowers with a surplus who can be given one of two options: The borrower can transfer to the clearing company a part of his assets to cover his debts, with the rest of the assets left in his hands or a part of his assets can be seized on the basis of a certain percentage applied to all the assets in order to achieve justice so that the lesser-quality assets may not be transferred to the clearing company with the quality assets remaining in the hands of the borrower and so that, at the same time, the borrower may not be done an injustice with most of his good assets transferred to the clearing company and with the lesser-quality assets left in his hands.

The borrower can also be given the option of having his debts rescheduled over a seven-year-period, with his assets as a collateral. The payment of interest dues can be arranged according to the borrower's cash capabilities, with the indebted loaded with interest at the same cost and with a small sum added in the form of fees and costs.

2. The group of borrowers considered to be in a balanced position in the sense that the value of their assets equals the value of the debts they owe and should be given one of two options: Either transfer all their assets to repay their debts or reschedule the debts, with the assets used as a collateral and in the same manner applied to the first group.

3. The group of borrowers suffering from a deficit: This group will have no choice and the clearing company will determine its position according to what it deems fit for protecting its rights. This group is, in turn, subdivided into 2 segments:

A segment with a deficit of 50 percent or less: In this case, the clearing company may seize all the assets and with the indebted treated in the same manner as those (whose assets have been transferred to the Stock Agency) whereby they are prevented from leaving the country and are required to sign an obligation to remit any dues they earn in the future to the clearing company. They should be pursued in the same manner as those whose assets have been transferred to the Stock Agency until the deficit from which they suffer is settled.

As for the segment with a deficit of more than 50 percent, it shall be referred to the bankruptcy court and the company shall seize its assets to protect its rights.

E. Upon settling and liquidating all the said debts, the clearing company will find out clearly the size of the losses it will incur as a result of the settlements. The company will also form varied assets countering the local banks' obligations, namely the bonds issued when the said debts, to be rescheduled for a period of 10-15 years, are transferred to the company.

A major question can be raised here:

How will the clearing company be able to pay the interest due on the loans to the banks during the rescheduling years? Moreover, how will the clearing company be able to shoulder the actual losses which may accrue after the final settlement of the debts?

These questions can be answered as follows:

1. Insofar as the interest on the loans due the banks during the rescheduled years, the government can offer the company deposits at very low interest rates (preferably no interest at all) because the same interest rate charged the company by the government is supposed to be applied by the company to the indebted when his debt payment is rescheduled. The lower the interest rate charged the indebted, the easier it will be for him to pay the original debts and to reduce his burden. This is provided that the government rights are protected by insuring that the government recovers its deposits when the debts are settled.

The actual losses at the end of the settlements will be shouldered by the banks and covered by the banks' accumulated reserves. Consequently, the public treasury will shoulder no loss ultimately, except for the interest it could collect for the deposits during the rescheduling years.

As for the bonds to be discounted by the Central Bank in order to supply liquidity to the banks, they will be guaranteed by the banks themselves, considering that the banks will incur all the future losses emanating from settling the debts in the abovementioned way.

The government can advance this assistance for a period of 10-15 years. The public money will not be put to any perishable uses. It will only be used for long-range deposits at low interest rates (or at no interest) to help the banking sector overcome this crisis--a crisis whose consequences the government must shoulder because of the faults in its past laws. The banking sector and the indebted are currently paying the cost of these faults.

2. Insofar as the losses that may materialize after settlement of all of the borrowers' positions, the banks can cover them from their reserves and future profits by virtue of their ownership of the clearing company, especially since settlement of the borrowers' positions, and subsequently of their assets, will not be completed until the end of the bonds period, which is 10-15 years.

It is certain that the prices of the assets owned by the clearing company will improve and will be able to contribute to reducing the size of the losses. In any case, the banks will be able to shoulder the losses over

a period of 10-15 years because their reserves and profits will grow. By merely organizing their affairs, the banks will earn additional profits and reserves and, consequently, will be able to absorb any future losses.

This is in contrast to what may happen now if the banks are saddled with an immediate loss which will consume their reserves at once, thus rendering them incapable of forging ahead, gaining local and external trust, for which they are in the direst need, and working anew locally and externally.

As a further measure of fairness between the banks and the investment companies, especially upon distribution of the clearing company's losses among them upon the settlement of these debts, each bank must shoulder a part of the loss proportionate with the volume of the unserviceable debts it transfers to the clearing company at the start of the company's work. This means that the loss must not be shared equally by the company's shareholders but must be tied to the volume of the unserviceable debts transferred to the company to start with. Each bank must be subjected to a certain percentage of loss commensurate with the volume of the unserviceable debts it transfers to the clearing company.

This solution will saddle all the partners with a cost whose payment will not be hard and which will be covered in a number of years according to what has already been mentioned. The state (public treasury) will not be saddled with any perishable sums of money. All the state will do is to give the clearing company deposits according to need and at low interest rates (or no interest at all) to enable this company to reschedule the debts at reduced interest rates or for no interest at all, depending on the kind of deposits the government offers.

What is ultimately required is to take fiscal and monetary steps involving the Central Bank, the local banks, the investments firms, and the clearing company. This is being currently done with less vigor than needed. As we have already pointed out, the original deposits will be returned to the state like any other deposits. In the past, the government did take similar measures when it offered the Industrial Bank upon its foundation in 1974 a big loan of 100 million dinars at very low interest rates to encourage industrial loans.

The same applies to the Savings and Loan Bank from which the state will recover its monies, with the only sacrifice made being the interest on these monies.

There are also the loans made by the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development. These loans are given at an interest rate of 3-4 percent whereas the World Bank, which is a similar fund, offers such loans to the same borrowing countries at an interest rate of no less than 7 percent. This low interest rate has given Kuwait a prominent role in the Third World countries because the low rate represents the aid Kuwait gives. This is in addition to loan duration which reaches 40 years at times whereas the duration of the World Bank loans does not exceed 30 years.



If compared with the state's foreign deposits and investments, this [deposit to be given to clearing company] may be more secure than the foreign investments and deposits, especially if we consider the recent U.S. law freezing the Libyan assets there. On top of all of this, there is no harm in offering deposits at low interest rates (or at no interest at all) to solve the problem of the country's banking sector. The banks will shoulder future losses. This is better than having them shoulder immediate losses that shake their main structures under circumstances like the present circumstances. However, there is a price which the banks must pay. They will be obliged to shoulder the losses (incurred by the clearing company) as a result of settlement of the debts over a period of 10-15 years. But the banks will be certainly able to absorb this loss without any future damage to their structure. This is in total contrast with what would happen if they were to incur the loss immediately.

The indebted individuals will also pay the price through settlements reached with the clearing company, considering that a number of them will lose all their wealth, others will lose a part of their wealth and yet others will lose all their wealth and will still be pursued by the law. Some will even go bankrupt.

This is an exorbitant price to be paid by those indebted to the banks, considering that a number of them are merchants and have their commercial name. Others are state employees and officials. However, there is a price they have to pay and they must pay it and bear the consequences of their mistakes.

Finally, the indebtedness problem can, if handled properly, be solved in accordance with what has been mentioned through the financial instruments available to the Central Bank and the local banks. We must not forget in this regard that to bolster the solutions to the indebtedness problem, there have to be other parallel solutions that contribute to solving this problem and to starting the economic revival cycle. These solutions are:

A. A corporation must be founded to create a securities market so that it may contribute to reviving the stock market and to regaining confidence in this market.

In February 1985, the economic revival committee recommended the foundation of such a corporation. Expedient steps must now be taken to form this corporation and to amend some regulations in the current bourse law in order to make the system more flexible, especially in connection with the size of the units sold.

B. The real estate market must be boosted through issuance of accumulated-interest bonds and through amendment of the rent law so as to reduce the demolition period to 20 years.

C. Steps must be taken to speed up implementation of the housing problems so as to solve the problem of accumulated applications. There is a plan to build



25,000 housing units in the next 5 years. This plan must be strengthened and its implementation must be expedited so as to generate an active cycle in the construction sector and the other related sectors that contribute to the economic revival cycle.

If all these steps are taken simultaneously with the solutions to the indebtedness problem, they will definitely lead the country out of this crisis and we will begin moving on the right path to solve all the problems from which all the economic activities suffer.

## Conclusion

The idea of forming the company was contained in the economic revival committee's proposals of February 1985 and in the latest memorandum submitted by the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in November 1985. The banks have also underlined the importance of such a company in this phase to contribute to solving the indebtedness problem.

But we want to stress a significant fact here, namely that in forming such a company, consideration must be given to entrusting it with broad objectives and giving it a large degree of flexibility in order that it may be able to solve the problem and that the past mistakes may not be repeated. For example, when the Arbitration Council was formed at the outset of the crisis, this council was not given the power to reduce a debt. The council was thus restricted from the beginning and it did not contribute effectively to solving the intricacy of the problem because it did not have the power to reduce the debt. All the council was empowered to do was to break the debt down to installments and to postpone repayment. This was not enough because what is required is to reduce the size of the debts. When the Clearing Company itself was founded in September 1982, not many people benefited from its presence because it was not given the right to collective clearance in order to contribute to unravelling the intricacy. This should have been the Clearing Company's main role since it was founded. Regrettably, the company has been emptied of its meaning and no use has been made of its presence to solve the problem of intricacy.

In order that we may not repeat the mistake in connection with the indebtedness problem, it must be stressed that the proposed company must operate with utter flexibility to solve the indebtedness problem and that all resources must be made available to it, whether through government subsidy or through facilities from the Central Bank and cooperation from the local banks and investment companies, to enable it to perform the task entrusted to it so that we may not say that we founded the indebtedness company, but it has failed to solve the problem. Should such failure materialize, God forbid, then it will be because of deficiency on our part and not because the idea is not right. All the countries that have encountered the problem of indebtedness have formed similar companies for unserviceable debts and have allowed such companies enough flexibility to solve the problem.

To put it briefly once more, if the company does not adopt the principle of reducing a part of the current debt, the principle of taking future criteria

into consideration in evaluating the borrowers' assets and the principle of rescheduling the debts without future interest payments or with very low interest payments, then this company will not be destined to succeed in carrying out the task entrusted to it.

Finally, putting the stress on solving the indebtedness problem before settling the companies' conditions is a fundamental principle because by dealing with the indebtedness problem, the positions of numerous companies suffering from the indebtedness crisis will improve. It is illogical to start backward, i.e., to liquidate a company's assets under the canopy of the current low prices and then deal with the indebtedness problem after having doomed numerous companies to liquidation and bankruptcy.

We wish to shed the light on an important point, namely the developments in oil prices in the past few days. This phenomenon may perhaps be the strong justification that urges us to move quickly to solve this problem from which the financial institutions and a large sector of companies and individuals suffer and which preoccupies the top state officials, especially since the problem has entered its 4th year. The circumstances dictate that we move quickly to solve it so that the prominent state officials and the financial institutions may devote their time to tackle these developments in a manner that protects the strength and safety of the government and public institutions.

We implore God to give us success and to protect our beloved homeland.

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF UNIVERSITY GRADUATES ASSESSED

Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 5 Feb 86 p 8

[Article by Khitam Bitar: "How Do We Deal with Overemployment in State Ministries; Ninety Percent of University Graduates Are Employed in Major Cities While Actual Service Centers Remain Void of Citizens; Civil Service Commission Must Solve Problem of Masked Unemployment"]

[Text] The difficult equation being experienced by most of the state ministries, especially the service ministries and departments, is embodied in the accumulation of administrative employees in their offices. This accumulation represents overemployment in the state's major cities whereas the small towns and the work sites are deprived of the employee capable of dealing with the citizens.

This reality under which the state ministries and departments live is due to the fact that 90 percent of the graduates appointed annually are employed in the major cities because they refuse to work in areas remote from their place of residence. They even refuse to move far from their families, especially in light of their dire need to save for marriage and for forming new families.

Moreover, a considerable number of graduates agree to work in a field other than their field of specialization in return for staying in the city.

The citizens of the villages, small towns, and remote areas could make up for the shortage in the number of graduates in their area if it were not for the fact that they are very small in number and that most of them join the army or the police before completing their education.

The problem is not evident today but it will become acute in the future. So how can we tackle it as of now?

Graduates Were Rare Currency in Past

These questions have been presented to a number of graduates to find out their opinions on the means to utilize the capacity of the graduate and on the reasons why he is disinclined to work in remote areas.

Ibrahim Mubarak, a chief researcher at the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, has said: A few years ago, a graduated citizen was a rare currency whose capabilities the state tried to utilize. With the opening of the theoretical colleges of the UAE University and with the spread of university education among the people, the numbers of graduates have been growing year after year. Because the theoretical colleges are more accessible than the other colleges, they pour out every year hundreds of graduates, thus causing the supply to exceed the demand. This is in addition to the state encouragement of graduates who are employed automatically. But the time has come for the state to seek a better system of providing employment for new graduates. In addition to assistance given the graduate at the beginning of his practical life, material incentives must be provided to encourage graduates to work in work sites remote from their families' places of residence. This is in addition to enhancing the graduate's income so that he may be able to save and secure his future. Ultimately, the state is the beneficiary of the graduate's work.

If the graduate continues to live under the present reality, he will try to find his individual solution, even if at the expense of the state. So we need future plans for the new graduates because, in my view, the time has come for planning to absorb the graduates' capabilities.

Ibrahim Mubarak added: We must not disregard the fact that most of the ministries' activities are concentrated in Dubai and Abu Dhabi. Moreover, the number of graduate citizens in the major cities is bigger than their numbers in the other areas, particularly Dubai, al-Shariqah, and 'Ajman. This is why we find large numbers of graduates in these cities. These graduates, especially the new graduates, do not like to work in the remote areas because the first thing a youth seeks is to find a means to save. This is why we find that the youth are eager to stay close to their families' homes. They want to save the housing rent because they face a future that requires money to enable them to build families and a stable life. The graduate wants to marry and to build a house. How can he do so, especially since the state gives him no grant upon graduation? Together, these factors motivate the graduate not to accept employment far from his family's place of residence, even if the job is compatible with his studies. Thus, he accepts any job in the city, even if it is far from his field of specialization.

This is the reality under which the new graduate lives. If he agrees to work in remote areas, he will spend his salary on gas and housing rent.

In case the distribution of graduates among the remote areas is applied, the tasks of the ministries must be distributed to their offices because at present, the work of the ministries' offices in the remote areas is very limited and these offices have very few vacancies. To implement this policy, the organizational structure of the ministries' work, especially of the ministries connected with the people generally, must be reexamined to expand the activities of the offices in the remote areas and to broaden the work opportunities for the graduate because the graduate seeks promotion. Such promotion is not available in the remote offices whereas in the cities, the graduate has the opportunity to be promoted to a section head, a department director, and to assistant deputy minister.



Mubarak further added: This is the reality under which the graduate lives when he begins his practical life and when he finds nothing to rely on other than his monthly salary. There is no assistance and there are no broad work opportunities offered him to choose from. Moreover, his work is confined to the government sector only. This is why we find him seeking individual solutions. We cannot benefit from our graduates' capability unless the state reconsiders the manner in which the newly graduated are treated. Organizational plans must be formulated and the right man must be put in the right place.

#### Where Is State Support for the Graduate Citizen?

Jamal Husayn al-Marzuqi, an employee of the Ministry of Labor, has said: We are, in fact, facing a problem insofar as the graduate citizen is concerned and this problem is growing bigger year after year, especially since the UAE University supplies us with hundreds of graduates annually and since the state is obliged to appoint them. This is why we find large numbers of graduates who take up jobs incompatible with their studies and who accept the fait accompli in order to save.

When a student graduates from the university, he views the future with big ambitions, such as marriage, helping his family, and building a new family life. All these ambitions urge the graduate to seek a means of saving, especially since the state does not help the graduate with the needed assistance which some other Gulf countries provide. Thus, the present situation is unsound and needs to be fully reexamined. The state must assist the graduate and provide him with support, material aid, and housing. This is in contrast with what exists at present. The graduate finds nothing but the job. With his salary, he has to help his family, get married, and build a house.

This bitter reality makes the graduate disinclined to do productive work. This is why we find numbers of graduates in the ministries spending their days in boredom and refusing to work in the remote areas. This is because if they agree to work far from the ministries' main offices, the state offers them no incentives. We do, in fact, need graduates in the remote areas. But this is not available at present. Another reason is that the citizens of these areas do not carry on with their education to the university level, but rather turn to the army at a young age, i.e., after the preparatory or elementary level. University graduates also often join the army because they seek a big salary and incentives to realize their dreams. Moreover, there are the ranks and promotions which they get in their service in the army or the police. In addition, the possibility of joining the army is available nearly every 6 months whereas jobs in the ministries need a long time.

Jamal al-Marzuqi added: Our youth are not to be blamed when they seek a solution to their problems and to improve their material position. But this leads to squandering the capabilities and to creating discrimination between the various areas because the percentage of the educated and of graduates is very high in the major cities while the percentage of graduates in the remote areas is very low.



If the state had paid attention to this reality and had tried to formulate solutions to the graduates' problems and tried to help them and had it offered them incentives to work in the remote areas, we would have solved some of the problems and the remote areas' citizens would have enrolled in university education. It is impermissible to be living at the beginnings of the 21st century while a high percentage of our youth are semi-educated.

When such plans are formulated, we will find large numbers of graduates from the remote areas carrying out the work of the ministries' offices in these areas. It is difficult, for example, for a graduate living in Dubayy to work in al-Fujayrah or in Abu Dhabi and earn the same salary earned by any other employee. A graduated youth will not move from his place of residence unless given material incentives. All the youth of the northern emirates who work in Abu Dhabi, for example, are either in the army where the pay is high or have their work divided between Dubayy and Abu Dhabi.

This is due to the fact that the ministries pay no nature-of-work [hardship] allowance and offer no incentives to encourage the youth to sacrifice their place of residence. Moreover, the ministries' activities in the remote areas are very limited and do not meet the youth's aspirations, especially since most of our ministries adopt centralism in disposing of their work. I find that the opposite situation exists, with youth from Ra's al-Khaimah and al-Fujayrah working in Dubayy and then returning to their place of residence in the evening. They do this in search of promotion and to develop their work. A graduate is entitled to promotion, not come to his office and find no chair to sit on and no work to do. We need to reexamine the manner in which we deal with the graduate. Proper spheres of employment must be found for him. Why shouldn't we impose a number of our graduates on the private sector? Why do we give them job positions without giving them the tasks of their job? If we let matters go as they are, we will reach a phase when the problem will intensify and when the graduate will become a burden to himself and to the state.

#### Nature-of-Work Allowance Needed for Graduate

'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Hammadi, the head of the (childcare) section of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, has said: The graduate citizen is in dire need of care, rather in the direst need for state care. We live in a young state that needs the efforts of all its young men and women, especially since the real edifice can be built only with the energy and capabilities of the youth. We do actually need to distribute our graduates among all parts of the state, especially the remote towns and areas because the graduate is more capable than others to serve these areas. He knows *their* customs, traditions, inclinations, and tendencies. This is why the service the graduate renders the citizens is more beneficial. We can achieve this distribution only through cooperation with the new graduate and through offering as many incentives as possible. Why shouldn't the graduate citizen be paid a hardship allowance when appointed beyond his place of residence, especially if he is a technician--such as an agricultural or an electrical engineer? Why shouldn't we also pay the administrative employee a hardship allowance amounting to 30

percent of the salary? Why shouldn't this be applied to (certain) ministries? If the state did this, it would win over the youth, get them involved in their work, and solve the problem of masked unemployment. The service needed by the citizen would also become faster and more beneficial.

I am not saying that this should be applied to all the ministries but only to the ministries that need to extend their services to all the areas. The Ministry of Finance, for example, does not need branch offices whereas the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs needs big branch offices because its activities covers a large part of the people and because the social service needs large numbers of graduates in the remote areas. This is not available at present.

'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Hammadi added: The state ministries' offices in the major cities have become saturated with graduate citizens. The Civil Service Commission must draw up future plans for the new graduates whose numbers are increasing year after year. We are supposed to look for a successful solution to make it possible to distribute graduates among the remote areas. In my opinion, this cannot be achieved unless a comprehensive study is conducted and unless successful plans incorporating numerous incentives are drawn up. We will thus find the beginning of the path. It is impermissible that the ministries' offices in the remote areas should be without graduate citizens when we find the cities swarming with such graduates and when there are no vacancies for them to fill. The appointments to these ministries are in implementation of the state policy of providing jobs for all graduate citizens.

It is my opinion that this policy is sound. But it needs to be complemented, i.e., it needs to put the right man in the right place so that we may benefit from the youth's capabilities. Our need for these young men in the remote towns and areas is a dire need under the present circumstance. Therefore, it is my opinion that the time has come for the Civil Service Commission to coordinate with the agencies concerned with planning to distribute the manpower in the various areas, keeping in mind the importance of incentives in implementing this policy. Moreover, it is necessary to adopt an educational policy founded on directing the [new] generation toward the scientific fields because there is a surplus in the theoretical fields. Moreover, graduates of the scientific colleges, such as engineers and others, are likely to perform more beneficial work in the remote areas. When a young man realizes that the state will offer him incentives to work in areas far from his place of residence, he will accept the job and will produce better, especially if he is employed in his field of specialization. He will also experience the psychological stability of knowing that his effort is intrinsically beneficial and that it is not wasted. What is happening at present is that the ministries make no distinction between the salary paid to an employee working in his area of residence and the employee who has to move to another place to perform the tasks of his job.

Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rhaman, a graduate, has said: The state ministries cannot absorb the large numbers of graduates because their work is limited and well-known, and so is the number of their employees. We do not find that the state's general policy encourages the graduates to work in the ministries.

Therefore, our advice to the youth seeking a better material life is to turn to the army which offers incentives and allowances. If they join the army, they will serve their country and, at the same time, will get high wages and hardship allowance. I say this on the basis of the reality. A ministry employee gets an ordinary salary wherever he serves and he stays in his job without promotion for long years whereas in the army, the spheres of work are diverse and promotions are given constantly. I do not believe that the state will open new ministries to absorb the future numbers of graduates. Thus, the new graduate will have to join the existing ministries where the salary is limited and the job remains the same for years. I do not imagine that the youth will be pleased with this situation for a long time, especially since the state extends no assistance to the graduate at the beginning of his practical life, but leaves him to his job and his limited salary. He has to then manage on his own. Why shouldn't the graduate shorten the road and go to the army or the police where the opportunity is open for him to realize his ambitions and his dreams?

#### Planning for Specializations and for Proper Use of Manpower

Ahmad Khalifah Zayid, the Ministry of Agriculture's public relations officer, has talked of the graduate, his productivity, and the means to give him stability at the beginning of his working life, saying: The graduate needs incentives. But before the incentives, we need planning and adopting an educational policy compatible with the state's interest. We should start directing the student from the early educational stages toward the specializations needed by the country so that the youth may turn to these specializations instead of taking up in a haphazardly manner specializations in which we already have a surplus. We will thus transform the graduate into an efficient and productive element needed by the state's various sectors. As long as the state needs such a graduate, then it must offer him incentives and allowances. Moreover, when such plans are formulated, the graduate will be employed in the right position needed by the work. We know that the need for graduates varies from area to area. Therefore, the graduate will be aware in advance of the place of his employment. For example, the agricultural areas need agricultural engineers and the ministries need administrators. Thus, the graduates will be distributed fairly among the emirates. At the same time, we will have found for the problem a solution which enables us to benefit from the graduate's productivity as much as possible and to require the graduate to work in any area, especially since roads and communications are available and easy. In addition to all this, incentives must be secured for the graduate and he must be given psychological stability. But we know that this cannot be achieved unless material resources are made available to the graduate to form a family and live an honorable life. So we are facing an organizational problem and the problem of the means to utilize our youth's capabilities, not the problem of working in a city or a village because distances in the UAE are short, unlike other countries where distances are vast.

Thus, it is necessary to return to the kind of specializations needed to make up for the shortfall, in both city and village. We are in the direst need of the graduate and of his productivity because the money the state spends on educating him must produce a yield. Our youth are prepared for work if sound means and planning are available.

Incentive is the main element between the graduate and his productivity. Incentives are the motive. As there is punishment for the employee, there has to be a reward, especially for the employee who travels long distances to perform his duty in the best manner. The graduate exerts redoubled efforts only to improve his work level. In return for good production, there has to be a material reward, and an improvement in the living standard.

If we take all these aspects into consideration, we will find a solution to the graduate's problems and we will put him to work in the right place.

As for the issue of decentralism in the activities of all or of some of the ministries, this issue must be left for planning and for the authorities concerned with this matter because they are more capable of viewing the solutions from this angle.

#### Hardship Allowance

'Abdallah Ghanim, the head of the soil resources section at the Ministry of Agriculture, has said: Incentives and benefits must be secured for an employee working outside his area of residence because they are the main element that encourages the graduate to agree to work in any area remote from his place of residence, especially graduates appointed in the ministries that need employees in the remote areas, such as the Ministry of Agriculture. A proposal was made to pay these graduates a hardship allowance but nothing has been approved so far.

The Ministry of Agriculture needs agricultural engineers in the remote areas. At the same time, there is a scarcity of citizens because our youth are inclined toward the theoretical disciplines generally. The numbers of those enrolled in the scientific colleges are small. Therefore, such graduates must be encouraged in one way or another so that we may benefit from their capabilities and productivity. We are currently distributing such graduates to the ministry's offices outside the major cities, such as al-Dhayd and the eastern province. But at the same time, we are taking the employees' circumstances into consideration. We cannot force an employee to work far from his place of residence and yet pay him the same salary paid to an employee living in his family's home. If we force such a thing on the employee, he will leave the work because his salary will be spent on gas. We are all aware of the situation of the graduate citizen. Upon graduation, he might be shouldering heavy responsibilities and the state does not offer him any material assistance to help him make his way. Therefore, his salary is the basis for building his future life.

So, incentives are needed to achieve this policy. But the matter depends on the type of service a ministry offers. The Ministry of Agriculture is one of the ministries that requires employees in the remote areas because its branch offices outside the ministry headquarters do a lot of work. The main office's task is confined to followup.



## Remote-Area Allowance Is no Incentive

'Ali ibn 'Abbud, the director of the personnel affairs control department at the Ministry of State for Cabinet Affairs, has said: The Council of Ministers decree No 1 of 1979 concerning the remote-area allowance states the following:

Article 1: A remote-area allowance shall be paid to the federal civil servants and employees working in the remote areas at the rate of 20 percent of the employee's basic salary and to a maximum of 250 dirhams monthly. This allowance shall apply to all remote-area employees who are not inhabitants of these areas.

Article 2: In implementing the provisions of this decree, the areas named in the attached list shall be considered remote areas, in addition to any area considered thus by a decree issued by the Civil Service Commission.

The remote areas are Bada' Zayid, Jazirat Das, Tarif, [al-Tunbah], al-Sila', Liwa', Umm al-Ashtan, Shawkah, al-Dab'iyah, Abu Musa, Ra's [Ghumays], Sir Abu Nu'ayr, al-Sadr, Dalma, Dawm, Bada' [Hazza'], al-Huwaylat, al-Ghil, Wadi [Usfuni], Idhn, Ghiyathi, Dawhat al-Khuwayfat, Bada' al-Matawi'ah, Zughbah, al-Hamra', al-Malihah, [al-Asyal], al-Munay'i, [al-Tuwayayn], [al-Siji], al-Bithnah, al-Halah, al-Ghawb, al-Furfar, Mayraz region, al-Marfa', and al-Ruways region.

I would like to point out that this allowance is not given to the inhabitant of a remote area working in his area and is confined to those who come from far places of residence to work in such areas.

'Ali ibn 'Abbud added: There is no doubt that this allowance is small when compared with the burdens encountered by the employee working in these areas because no proper housing, services, or means of transportation are available, not to mention the fact that one lives far from his family. If an employee commutes between his family's place of residence and his work place, he ends up shouldering heavy expenses. This allowance is worth nothing in comparison to the situation under which such an employee lives. This has discouraged large numbers of employees, especially graduate citizens, from working in the remote areas. It is my opinion that if the allowance was set at 25 percent instead of 20 percent and if no maximum limit was imposed, the situation would be better. Setting the maximum allowance at 250 dirhams has made many disinclined to work in these areas.

It is my opinion that if incentives were offered, they would encourage graduates to work in the remote areas; I mean by incentives transportation allowances. Let the transportation allowance be an incentive for work, especially for those who use their private cars.

We need to offer such incentives in order to encourage the graduate to work in these areas, especially since we are seeking to settle the jobs. This can be achieved only by offering material incentives. We are in fact suffering from a shortage of citizen employees in the remote areas. The authorities



concerned in the remote areas have made proposals, such as securing proper housing for single and married employees in these areas, with a small portion of the employee's salary deducted as rent and with the state paying the employee a regular housing allowance. The Ministry of Health is doing this by deducting 500 dirhams from the salary of employees living in collective housing while paying them an ordinary housing allowance to encourage them to work in the remote areas.

As for the new graduates, what I have mentioned will encourage them to agree to work in the remote areas, especially since they seek to improve their material conditions. These incentives will encourage them to work in the remote areas.

On this basis, incentives must be offered. The overemployment of graduates from which the government agencies in the cities suffer will intensify annually, especially since 90 percent of every year's graduates are appointed in the cities whereas a small percentage is distributed to the remote areas. This is likely to intensify the overemployment and to reduce the number of citizens working in the remote areas.

Regarding the personnel affairs department's role in this regard, 'Ali ibn 'Abbud said: The Civil Service Commission's role is confined to appointing the graduates according to their specialization (as much as possible). I say as much as possible because the ministries cannot absorb the available specializations. At times, the ministries are not in need of these specializations. This is due to the lack of coordination between the state's educational policy and its actual needs. As an agency, we appoint the employee and the ministry concerned has to put him in the right place according to its interest and its actual need.

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PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

HEALTH INSTALLATION LOSSES FROM COUP ATTEMPT REVIEWED

Aden 14 UKTUBAR in Arabic 25 Mar 86 p 1

/Article by 'Ali al-Kaldi: "Health Installation Losses Resulting from the Coup Conspiracy Total 320,000 Dinars"/

/Text/ The losses inflicted on the Ministry of Public Health and the facilities subordinate to it as a result of the coup conspiracy on 13 January came to approximately 320,000 dinars. These represented partial damage to the Ministry of Health building in Khurmaksar, the 'Abbud Hospital, the central warehouses and the Medical Faculty building, aside from the health complex in Little Aden, where the damages were very great.

In an interview with the newspaper 14 UKTUBAR, Comrade Sa'id Sharaf, the minister of public health pointed out that there were great damages to machinery, buildings and doctors' lodgings, totalling more than 100,000 dinars.

The comrade minister stressed that the repair of these buildings, as well as the health complex, the cost of whose repair is estimated at 31,000 dinars, is progressing rapidly so that it can be carried out at the time specified, to enable citizens to obtain health care.

Concerning the provision of health services to the war wounded, the comrade minister pointed out that the ministry had made a count of wounded persons who were registered, whose number came to 1,600 in hospitals belonging to the ministry, aside from the wounded in the military hospitals.

On this subject he pointed out that 110 war wounded possessing dangerous injuries were sent in two waves to the Soviet Union and Bulgaria to receive treatment there. That was done in cooperation with the Soviet and Bulgarian Red Cross and Crescent Societies.

Concerning medical aid offered by fraternal and friendly countries and international organizations, he mentioned that Democratic Yemen had received aid from brothers in the northern segment of the country and from friendly countries in the socialist bloc as well as from Norway, France and Belgium and the International Red Cross, in addition to the teams coming from brothers and friends and other medical samples which reached our country in the recent period.

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PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

HOUSING MINISTER DESCRIBES RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS

Aden 14 UKTUBAR in Arabic 26 Mar 86 p 6

/Interview with Installations and Housing Minister Muhammad Ahmad Salman by Huda Fadl: "All Our Efforts and Powers Are ABeing Concentrated on Eliminating the Effects of the Damage of the 13 January Events"

/Text/ We are not exaggerating when we say that the burdens which the unsuccessful 13 January conspiracy left and cast on the shoulder of the Ministry of Installations and Housing are beyond imagining. Indeed, the ministry did not imagine that it would someday find itself faced with such an intractable problem.

The failed coup conspiracy was aimed, among other things, at economic achievements, especially in the area of housing, the field in which achievements that everyone has praised, in view of our limited resources, have been made.

The buildings which were levelled to the ground were large in number, in addition to the buildings that were burnt or half-destroyed and partially damaged.

The important thing is that the ministry has found itself faced with tremendous burdens and a difficult test.

On the one hand, the ministry must provide dwellings for the people who were registered on its list and on the other hand it has to deal with the problems and effects arising from the unsuccessful 13 January coup conspiracy. It is not a trivial matter, as some people imagine, and it is not easily solved at a time when we are in need of every effort in areas and projects which had been planned for earlier. But what is to be done?

We are faced with an intractable problem, if we do not buckle down to overcome the effects of the tragedy.

To give a picture which is vivid and clear to everyone concerning the ministry's plans and programs and its activities to overcome these increasing problems and burdens, following the merger of the Ministries of Housing and Installations in a single ministry, we went to Comrade Muhammad Ahmad Salman,

member of the central committee and minister of installations and housing, who most frankly and objectively presented the outlines of these burdens to us, and showed us the ministry's plans to overcome the effects of the conspiracy, urging everyone to concentrate all their efforts and resources on remedying these damages to which we were unexpectedly subjected!

#### **The Purpose of the Merger**

UKTUBAR: After the war inflicted on the capital, Aden, in the course of the unfortunate January events, the Ministry of Housing and the Ministry of Installations were merged into a single ministry. Could one explain the purpose behind that?

The Minister: It is clear that after the unfortunate January destruction, it was necessary to concentrate on rebuilding everything that had been destroyed. Because of the two ministries' overlapping activity in the areas of construction, the objective in merging the two ministries was to unify their efforts, as they complemented one another. This would ultimately lead to the distribution of tasks and a lack of overlap in them, in addition to an important consideration, which was the reduction of expenses.

UKTUBAR: Does this mean that the ministry has been charged with rebuilding everything that was destroyed?

The Minister: Yes, especially in construction and civilian areas. As regards the damage to the facilities, each body is responsible for assessing the losses to which it was subjected.

UKTUBAR: Is it possible therefore to give us a picture of the way in which the ministry will carry out this great task and the way it will be dealing with things?

The Minister: In dealing with the damage, the ministry is proceeding from the principles of concentrating and assembling all efforts and powers in order to derive maximum benefit from them and not waste any available resources but indeed to have them complement one another. This may perhaps be the basic objective in merging the Ministries of Housing and Installations.

The process of repairing the damage is being given priority in the ministry's concerns. Indeed, the party and state directives require that all efforts be dedicated to eliminating the effects of the damage and consequently the ministry will spare no effort in giving reconstruction all the effort and building materials it needs to bring it back to its normal condition, whatever the magnitude of the damage might be. That is the essence of the ministry's duty.

The ministry is also assuming a scientific approach in distributing and scheduling work among its organizations. Let us not forget here the role of the mass organizations, their initiatives and the initiatives of the vigorous masses, which will create the practical and suitable atmosphere for the reconstruction process.

For one's information, the ministry, by means of the technical committees that have been formed, has arrived at a preliminary assessment of the volume of the damage and preliminary schedules for reconstructing each site separately.

UKTUBAR: Citizens wonder about the scope of what the ministry will be offering those who sustained damage as far as their personal dwellings are concerned.

The Minister: The ministry will work seriously toward the reconstruction of everything that has been damaged. As far as the citizens who want to rebuild their dwellings by themselves are concerned, the ministry will cooperate with them by offering them the requisite primary materials in full for the repair process.

What About the 'Abd-al-'Aziz Project?

UKTUBAR: What about the late 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abd-al-Wali project?

The Minister: We have prepared the drawings once again with the ministries, since some ministers are new and it is necessary to get their opinions concerning some matters connected to providing housing. However, none of the efforts the Ministry of Housing has been exerting for a year have been changed. If we complete the drawings with the ministers in the course of this week we will be able to start the process of distributing housing during the coming month.

UKTUBAR: What about the people whose dwellings have been totally damaged? Will they also be given apartments in the project, bearing in mind that some of them have actually been transferred to the project?

The Minister: Attention will be given to conditions and their nature and the ministry will not neglect any citizen who has sustained damages. It will offer him assistance within the limits of the resources available to the ministry.

With respect to this housing, priority will be given to people who suffered damage and families of martyrs.

UKTUBAR: What about rents? Will they be treated as new merchants, with a deduction of 15 percent of salary, or will they be treated according to the previous low rent they had been paying?

The Minister: This issue has been raised before the Council of Ministers, and a clear legal ruling will be requested there.

UKTUBAR: The difficult circumstances arising from the failed coup conspiracy resulted in some dwellings being emptied of their inhabitants, and this has given some people an opportunity to find themselves lodging in them. What are the ministry's measures in this area?



The Minister: These are in violation of the law, and the law will be applied to them. We ask the citizens, people's defense committees and mass organizations which must play their role in this area to cooperate with us in giving notification about them.

#### **Prefabricated Buildings To Solve the Problem**

UKUBAR: How can one effect coordination among the citizens, the ministry and the bank on the subject of the prefabricated housing factory's provision of prefabricated housing services to citizens, which will greatly lessen burdens on the ministry?

The Minister: This will be provided if the Housing Bank is established. Its task is to give loans under the rule of housing for a minor percentage of profit which will not impose burdens on the citizen or raise construction costs.

In addition, the ministry has it in mind to construct basic structures for buildings and deliver them to citizens so that they can complete the building work, provided that the sum the citizens spend is deducted from rent over a specific period.

#### **The Percentage Will Depend on the Volume of Work Required**

UKTUBAR: With respect to the loans which the citizen will be given by the Housing Bank, how will these be specified?

The Minister: The percentage will depend on the volume of work required. It will also depend on the way in which it is proposed to assemble the money and the bodies contributing to it, such as the Housing Bank, the organizations themselves and social security insurance.

In the light of the housing law symposium held in the Faculty of Law, we and the dean of the Faculty of Law and the legal department in the ministry have started creating a bill and statute to provide housing in terms of registration, priorities and the contract system.

Starting at the beginning of next month, we will hold a small exhibition of plots and models of houses and areas on which building can be carved out and the citizens' registration of plots of land will take place by means of this exhibition.

These plots will be sold at token prices which will constitute no burden for citizens.

UKTUBAR: What about the decisions taken in the Council of Ministers regarding people whose homes were damaged?

The Minister: The Council of Ministers has adopted a series of measures on this subject, which one can summarize as follows:

People whose homes were destroyed or totally burned down; these people must be provided suitable compensation in the form of alternative houses.

People whose homes were partially destroyed and will be habitable after they are repaired; the government will defray the activity of repairing such homes in full and paying partial compensation to people whose furniture or belongings were lost through this destruction.

Minor damage to homes: the ministry will repair this and return them to proper condition.

With respect to everything that was mentioned, the size and circumstances of families will be taken into account in a manner that is compatible with providing a suitable livelihood for them and with the government's resources.

UKTUBAR: Why aren't we seeing attention to the paving of back roads as is the case with the public roads?

The Minister: This task forms part of the essence of our concern. We have a plan for this year to cover most of the back roads as far as paving goes.

UKTUBAR: Will there be housing projects in the near future?

The Minister: We do not have housing projects at hand, but we are studying the possibility of executing new projects in the plan. This is what the ministry will be reviewing with the Ministry of Planning in the light of the recent events. The projects it approves are the ones we will be executing.

UKTUBAR: Comrade minister, we would like to thank you for your frank response and hope that your ministry will rise above all the obstacles put in its way. Finally, do you have any observations which you would like to shed light on?

The Minister: In fact, I would like to refer to some of the following points:

Mass organizations and executive agencies in all areas of the republic, as well as initiatives and donations, will play an important role in reconstruction. Therefore, it will be necessary to coordinate with the ministry regarding all efforts exerted to provide a more effective yield.

With respect to what the ministry will be doing in the future, it will help issue a special document on the magnitude of the losses, along with everyone who has helped transcend this ordeal, so that it will remain a historic document showing the magnitude of the losses to which this country was subjected as a result of the unsuccessful coup attempt and a record of all sincere cooperation, effort and aid from initiative organization institutions, Yemeni expatriates or friendly or fraternal countries on behalf of repairing damage.

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PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

REPAIRS TO HEALTH FACILITIES REVIEWED

Aden 14 UKTUBAR in Arabic 31 Mar 86 p 2

/Article by 'Ali al-Kaldi: "Activity Returned to the Health Facilities Directly after the Events"/

/Text/ In the course of the tragic events our country witnessed on 13 January many health facilities in the capital, Aden, were subjected to partial and grievous damage.

Hospitals are considered places where one requests treatment and first aid; in the course of the events most of these hospitals were turned into scenes for the commission of the vilest crimes against fighting men and the coup clique engaged in inhumane procedures against wounded fighting men.

These hospitals also became a target for rockets; dozens of hospital patients died and some hospitals were destroyed. In order to give further details on the hospitals' work and the damage they sustained, the newspaper 14 UKTUBAR met with Comrade Sa'id Sharaf, minister of public health, who shed more light on what went on on 13 January at this meeting. Let us let the comrade minister of health talk at this meeting, beginning his conversation with the damage to which the health and treatment facilities were subjected; most of this was partial except for the health complex in Little Aden, the total cost of repairing which will come to 31,000 dinars. The local building organization will repair this, in order to enable citizens to obtain health care.

The comrade minister said that through the field survey of health installations, a number of them sustained damage, including the central medical warehouses, the Faculty of Medicine building, the Ministry of Health building and 'Abbud Hospital; the total costs of repairing these installations come to 3,000 dinars and the repair period will take approximately 3 months. The residential buildings of foreign doctors who have contracts for benefiting from them were also damaged, as well as buildings belonging to the ministry, whose losses are estimated at about 90,000 dinars. There also were losses in furniture, equipment and machinery belonging to the Faculty of Medicine and the health complex estimated at about 150,000 dinars.

With respect to machinery and transport equipment, some cars were ruined because the clique stole them. These are estimated at 23 miscellaneous vehicles estimated at about 138,000 dinars. The Ministry of Public Health's total losses came to 320,000 dinars.

As regards the activity of health service work, the comrade minister of health said that the doctors and nurses played a prominent part in the tragic events by offering first aid to the war wounded, transporting victims, arranging treatment for wounded persons who had serious wounds by traveling abroad for treatment and receiving health missions and other materials sent by international organizations.

The comrade minister pointed out "The Ministry of Health was the first facility which resumed its activity directly after the events, since we counted the wounded, whose number, according to the statistics, came to 1,600 aside from wounded persons in military hospitals. About 110 people were sent to the Soviet Union and Bulgaria to receive treatment there.

"We also received medical aid offered by international organizations. These are materials in kind, medicines and clothes provided by the Red Crescent and Red Cross of the socialist countries, the International Red Cross, Norway, France and Belgium, in addition to medical missions and teams from socialist countries. Some aid was also received from brothers in the north of the country."

Concerning the ministry's plan for the current year, 1986, Comrade Sa'id Sharaf pointed out that working teams were formed which will look at various health issues regarding work organization with health personnel and ways of organizing their work, in addition to basic health service requirements in various health facilities at various levels. The work of the teams will be completed in the middle of next April and these evaluation documents will be presented for discussion by people active in health services in accordance with the priority and importance of these documents.

The comrade minister stated "The ministry attaches importance to primary health care, on grounds that that is the cornerstone in the subsequent stage, since the development of the treatment process is focussed on these programs. Health personnel will also be assigned on the basis of their classes and spending will also be guided in the area of providing health services. For example, we are trying to combine the activities of similar programs so that we can guarantee effective administration in these activities and the reduction of expenditures on them. This does not mean neglect of the health activities that are taking place. These will remain the object of attention of the health sector leadership, as regards health development projects or the activation of preventive programs.

"The continued provision of medicines to citizens through public and private sector pharmacies. One should point out in this regard that because of the negative effects of the conspiracy the organization was subjected to some

bottlenecks because medicines had not arrived at the right time. In spite of that, the company will review reprogramming them in a manner which is compatible with the financial circumstances the country is going through.

"There are efforts being made to shift from the stage of ordinary activity to that of field activity in order to come up with effective ways of offering and executing means for offering basic health services."

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AFGHANISTAN

REFUGEES DEMONSTRATE AGAINST OCCUPATION

GF041333 Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 Apr 86 p 18

[Text] Thousands of Afghan refugees demonstrated this morning on the anniversary of the 27 April coup d'etat and Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

As reported by our correspondent, the Afghan Mujahidin gathered in Baharestan Square opposite the Majlis building in Tehran. They then marched in an orderly fashion toward Imam Hoseyn Square.

The Afghan marchers carried placards bearing such slogans as "a million martyrs," "5 million refugees," "hundreds of villages destroyed," "the liberation of Afghanistan is our resolution and it is written with the blood of 1 million martyrs in every corner of Afghanistan." They chanted in unison the slogans of "Russia is the enemy of Islam and religion, Russia the black face" [in Persian they call the Soviet Union Rusia', a pun because ru' in Persian means face and sia means black], "the enemies of mankind, the Soviet Union and the United States," "whether Sunni or Shi'ite the war will go on until victory," "our nation fights, the enemy trembles," "our nation is awake and is fed up with East and West."

One of the marchers, Muhammad Hussain 'Arafi, a clergyman who is a member of the Afghanistan Islamic Crusade Guards who has been living in Iran for the past 5 years, sent his message to the revolutionaries in Afghanistan. He said: The Afghan Mujahidin and the Afghan combatants should fight bravely and with resistance against the enemy so that the land of Afghanistan is liberated from the clutches of the occupiers, the refugees returned to their homes, and the Afghan nation witness to the victory of Afghanistan and the success of Islam.

While taking part in the eighth anniversary of the 27 April coup he told our correspondent: The Islamic nation of Afghanistan has so far given hundreds of thousands of martyrs, wounded, and missing, but since there are no confirmed records, we cannot give accurate figures. Although the combatant nation of Afghanistan has suffered great losses and hardships, it has rendered severe blows on the enemy both politically and on the battlefields.

Shaykh Zaki, a member of the Afghanistan Islamic Movement and among the demonstrators in the Imam Hoseyn Square, addressed the gathering and spoke about the brave fight of the Majahidin against the Soviet forces and the problems facing the Afghan nation today. In conclusion a 13 point resolution was read to the gathering.

AFGHANISTAN

TWO SOVIET EMBASSY MEMBERS EXECUTED FOR GOLD TRAFFICKING

Paris LIBERATION in French 4 Apr 86 p 18

[Text] Two members of the USSR's embassy in Afghanistan have been sentenced to death and executed for gold trafficking, if we take a text circulating in Moscow to be accurate.

As is often the case in the Soviet Union when official information is lacking, unofficial channels take it upon themselves to disseminate "news" that is as sensational as it is unverifiable.

The two Soviets presumed to have been executed are Sultan Radjebov, minister of justice for Tadjikistan (Republic of Central Asia) until 1978, and an embassy secretary named Saidov, according to this "samizdat" (underground publication) which cites information given to party officials by a high-ranking official of the USSR's public prosecutor's office.

According to the underground report, the two served as middlemen between unidentified gold suppliers and "Afghan buyers." The precious metal is said to have been intended for Afghan "counterrevolutionaries" (rebels) and the trafficking is said to have been uncovered during an inspection at Moscow-Cheremetievo airport. At that time, customs officials reportedly discovered a package containing 23 kg of gold sent from Saudi Arabia and addressed to Saidov. "In the meantime, the USSR is losing 15,000 soldiers each year in Afghanistan," the text affirms. This figure, considered exaggerated in diplomatic circles, is nonetheless deemed "plausible" by East European experts.

The "samizdat" also notes a large volume of contraband in unspecified goods between Afghanistan and the USSR with the complicity of Soviet border guards. In return for a bribe, the border guards acted as guides to the smugglers and went as far as "to light the roads for them with searchlights." Several caravans were thus able to cross the border without incident.

12413/12859  
CSO: 4619/30

AFGHANISTAN

IRANIAN MEDICAL AID TO MUJAHEDIN REPORTED

Oslo KLASSEKAMPEN in Norwegian 12 Mar 86 pp 10-11

[Article by Stefan Lindgren]

[Text] In Teheran, they feel only one war, the war against Iran. It is most rare for people to take a look at the other war at the borders of Iran, the war in Afghanistan.

However, one does not need to go any farther than to the southern, poor quarter of Teheran to notice the flow of Afghan refugees.

Here, in an anonymous office building, one finds a hospital for Afghans with war injuries. It is operated solely by Afghans. Almost without any aid from Iran:

"We have twenty patients here, and the only medical attention they receive is granted by an Iranian physician who comes here once a day," the head of 'the office' says.

Seven patients have rented beds for themselves in Iranian hospitals, but it happens increasingly more often that these hospitals are fully occupied and that Afghans are refused admittance. In addition, the beds are expensive, up to 150 tuman per day, which is equivalent to the daily pay of many Afghans.

There used to be some foreign aid organizations which operated clinics for Afghans in Taebad and Masjad, but they were forced to leave Iran. The guerrillas nevertheless hope that it will soon be possible for them to receive foreign aid via Iran. The United Nations organization UNCHR has been working in Iran since October 1984.

However, the funds spent on Afghan refugees in Iran are a mere fraction of the funds going to Pakistan. The government of Iran contributed 400 million tuman annually. (According to the official dollar rate of exchange, this is equivalent to 44 million dollars, but according to the unofficial rate it is only 6.3 million dollars.) To this comes the contribution by the United Nations of 11 million dollars. This will then have to be compared with the 500 million dollars spent each year in Pakistan.

There are appreciably less refugees in Iran. The government estimates the number to be between 1.5 and 1.8 million as against 4 million in Pakistan. In peacetime, there were already 600,000 Afghans working in Iran.

Every day, another 2,000 refugees arrive in Iran. Only 10 percent of these are cared for by the refugee centers and receive food and medical attention. The remainder have to find a place to live and seek employment on their own.

A small number of the refugees have refugee cards and are referred to places where they can stay. They are there allowed to seek employment but not to start their own businesses, such as operating shops. Nevertheless, many choose to go to the major cities illegally. They exchange their Afghan turbans for Iranian caps and seek to melt into their new environment.

At the stretch Taebad-Teheran there are roadblocks at every town. All cars and busses are stopped and checked for undesired Afghans. These are inexorably returned to the border.

Nevertheless, 250,000 Afghans are assumed to have gone to Masjad, where they mark the urban life. A total of 100,000 have gone to Teheran, where they work as laborers at the many building sites of the city. Their wages range between 150 and 400 tuman per day (illegal refugees receive the lowest wages). There are equally many in Isfahan, Yazd, Shiraz, Kerman and Sistan-Baluchistan. The Baluches have in time gained the right for themselves to move across the borders with their turbans as their only passports and are thus able to make a living as smugglers, if nothing else. In the Kerman province, among others, the government of Iran has distributed the Afghans on a number of villages, where they have been allotted land. Their spokesman at Majlis, Rafsanjani, has officially requested the Iranians to receive the Afghans well and to marry them.

The fact that most of the Afghans and the Iranians speak the same language--farsi--simplifies the assimilation, but there is also a problem. Just as in other countries, myths develop about the immigrants, about their violence and their sexual habits. In addition, there is the large Iranian influence on the official language usage, which is reflected in the fact, among other things, that Iran prefers to support small shia parties within Afghanistan rather than the parties of the sunni majority.

Despite all of the problems, despite the fact that the Iranian border patrols, from a tactical point of view, are regarded as 'enemies' of the guerrillas, who take long detours to avoid encountering them, there is a close relationship between the Iranian revolution and the resistance struggle in Afghanistan.

When the inhabitants of Herat rebelled on 19 March 1979, it was only 2 months after Khomeini's return to Teheran as victor. In both cases, there was talk about an Islam revolution. And the regime in Kabul, moreover, claimed that the Herat rebellion was due to 4,000 Iranians, whom they claimed had been smuggled into the town.

Without at any time stating its own identity, the Herat guerrilla group has largely been inspired by Iran. For example, the United States is denounced in equally harsh terms as the Soviet Union:

"Gorbachev kills Muslims in Afghanistan and Reagan in Lebanon. What is the difference?" they ask.

The guerrillas also appreciate Iran's position not to participate in peace talks with the Karmal regime in Geneva, and that Iran in international contexts has included Afghans in their delegations. At present, a popular story is circulating about Khomeini saying that the Soviet ambassador looked up the imam a couple of hours before the invasion was launched. When informed of the Soviet plans, the imam is said to have answered:

"Going into Afghanistan is not difficult. But they will not be able to remain there."

In practice, the regime has been forced to deploy all its forces in the war against Iraq, and also at the border there is a refugee problem (approximately half a million Iraqi refugees). The aid to the Afghan guerrillas is limited to a small number of unused American guns.

Two years ago, possibilities were given the guerrillas of setting up a few camps on the Iranian side of the border, but the supplies to those camps are strictly controlled. Only twice per week is permission given to transport food supplies and other non-military goods to the camps.

Via Syria and Libya, Iran is given access to arms made in the Soviet Union of the type needed within Afghanistan. The day the war against Iraq ends, new possibilities are opened for the guerrillas of Afghanistan.

7262

CSO: 3639/92



INDIA

## INDIAN, SOVIET EXPERTS HOLD DELHI ROUNDTABLE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Apr 86 p 3

[Text]

A large new sphere for trade and commerce between India and USSR was identified by the experts from two countries in a round-table conference held in the Capital on Tuesday.

The conference titled Indo-Soviet Relations—Retrospects and Prospects, organised by Soviet Land magazine, was attended by the USSR Ambassador in India, senior diplomats, budgetary experts, academics and politicians.

Ambassador V N Rykov said that though the Indo-USSR trade was flourishing in leaps and bound through the mutually beneficial schemes adopted by the two countries, "there is no room for complacency" in this regard.

He spelled out the various commercial fields where new deals were possible. A start had been made in power generation, electronics, computer sciences and other high technology departments, he added.

The recent three visits of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to the USSR had opened the floodgates for greater interaction, the ambassador said.

Likewise, member of Planning Commission Abid Hussain and former Finance Minister Manubhai Shah also identified areas where concrete steps could be taken to augment cooperation including that in the private sector. Openings could be made in textile industry, shipping and dockyard services and genetic engineering in agriculture, according to the two economists.

**Trade gap:** Mr Hussain underlined the yawning trade gap between the two countries, which could be bridged only by escalating imports from USSR. Another major trade where Rs 300 crore deals could be struck was the processing for diamonds which were produced in USSR in a great quantity and India had the expertise.

The experts felt that increased trade with the USSR would not only help strengthen the core areas, but also improve India's foreign exchange reserve position in the light of liberal Soviet policies in this regard.

/9317  
CSO: 4600/1672

INDIA

## PRESS REPORTS REACTION TO U.S. BOMBING OF LIBYA

### Discussion in Lok Sabha

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 16 Apr 86 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, April 15--India today condemned the United States' bombing of Tripoli and other Libyan cities and termed it a clear case of aggression.

In a statement, the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, reacting as chairman of NAM, said the bombing was "unjustifiable" as Libya had already stated that it had "no connection" with terrorist activities in West Germany. Mr Gandhi extended "support and solidarity" to Libya at this critical hour.

The statement was read out by Mr. Baliram Bhagat, minister for external affairs, in the Lok Sabha.

In an official Indian statement read in the house, Mr. Bhagat called upon the U.S. and others to exercise utmost restraint and avoid doing any thing to further aggravate the already tense situation in the region.

Both the statements seeking to condemn the U.S. action in Libya were cheered by members belonging to both sides of the house. Cries of "Shame, Shame" were raised when Mr. Bhagat said the U.S. operated from its bases in the U.K. for bombing the Libyan cities. The members cheered when Mr. Bhagat told them that Spain and France did not allow the U.S. bombers to overfly their territories.

Mr. N. G. Ranga (Cong.) said "Quite right" when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in his statement called the U.S. action a clear case of aggression. Members again cried "Shame, shame" when Mr. Bhagat disclosed that a relative of Col. Gaddafi had been injured in the bombing.

The atmosphere in the house was so surcharged that members were on their feet as soon as the speaker occupied his seat. They included Mr. Madhu Dandavate (Janata), Mr. Dinesh Goswami (AGP), Mr. Indrajit Gupta (CPI), Mr. K. K. Tiwari and Dr. Eduardo Falcão (both Cong.) and Dr. Saifuddin Chowdhury (CPM).

Mr. Gupta wanted the minister for external affairs to make a statement on the U.S. attack on Libya, which had "brought the world on the brink of a catastrophe" Mr. Dandavate later urged the speaker to allow a discussion on the issue as "the world is almost on the brink of a war." Mr. Tiwari and Mr. Goswami demanded that the house condemn the "naked U.S. aggression."

The speaker shared the concern of members and agreed with them that while "the whole world is craving for peace through NAM and other parliamentary movements, something catastrophic has happened."

In his statement after zero hour, Mr. Bhagat gave some details of the attack on the three Libyan cities and said some foreigners had been injured.

Mr. Gandhi in his statement said: "India and the entire non-aligned movement are profoundly shocked and strongly deplore the U.S. bombings of some cities of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. These acts are sought to be justified as retaliation for terrorist acts, allegedly committed by Libya."

"NAM has consistently condemned all forms of terrorism, whether committed by individuals or organised by states. In these particular cases Libya has declared that it had no relationship with terrorist attacks and has declared itself as against all terrorist operations like hijacking of planes and the murder

of innocents. In view of this, the U.S. attacks on the capital of Libya, including the presidential palace in Tripoli, are all the more unjustifiable and deserve condemnation on the part of all the members of the non-aligned movement."

In his statement, Mr. Bhagat said the government of India was deeply shocked at the recent bombing of Tripoli and Benghazi by U.S. aircraft. This action was in total disregard of international law and constituted "nothing less than a clear act of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Libya." Moreover, it placed regional security and international peace in grave jeopardy.

Mr. Bhagat further said: "It may be recalled that the government had over the last three months repeatedly urged that precipitate action should be avoided and that problems in the area should be resolved through dialogue and not through pressure. It is most deplorable that these appeals have been ignored and the government finds it reprehensible that a permanent member of the security council, having a primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, has taken the law in its own hands and resorted to measures contrary to all norms of international conduct and the principles of the U.N. charter."

## Congress Party Reacts, Students Demonstrate

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 16 Apr 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 15.

**T**HE Congress Party today extended its full support and solidarity to Libya and its people and described as "reprehensible" the bombing of Tripoli and Benghazi by U.S. aircraft.

Deploing the U.S. action, Mr. Arjun Singh, Congress vice-president, said in a statement that the bombing had shocked all and cannot but be condemned by all peace-loving nations and peoples.

"Peace and stability in the region have been gravely shaken. There has been a total disregard of well-accepted canons of international law and behaviour," he said.

PTI adds: Three demonstrations — by members of Parliament, students of the Jawaharlal Nehru University and the Indo-Arab friendship organisation — were today held in front of the U.S. embassy to protest against the American attack on Libya.

The police said 20 students of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, including a large number of women, courted arrest during an hour-long demonstration.

The students also condemned the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, for "pawning the independence of her country ... by allowing U.S. terrorists to operate from there."

A delegation of thirty MPs submitted a memorandum to the U.S. envoy in India, condemning the action.

## Policy in Nonaligned Meeting

Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 15.

The Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned countries, who condemned the "blatant and unprovoked" American attack on Libya and called for an immediate halt to further U.S. military operations, were considering tonight follow up political measures.

The two suggestions that were being discussed at private meetings tonight is that a representative group of Non-Aligned countries headed by India, the current Chairman, should participate in the U.N. Security Council debate, and that a ministerial standing committee should be set up to deal with the U.S. threat of more attacks on Libya on a continual basis on behalf of the entire Non-Aligned Movement.

Many of the Foreign Ministers and heads of delegation who attended today's meeting wanted India to take the lead in asking for an urgent meeting of the U.N. Security Council on behalf of the Non-Aligned community, instead of leaving the initiative to others like the Soviet Union. But India needed time to consider this suggestion and consult other countries before taking upon itself the responsibility of asking for an emergency meeting of the Security Council to discuss the American action.

The Indian policy is to associate itself actively with all the steps that are being contemplated by the Non-Aligned community to prevent the recurrence of the kinds of threats to peace, like the American bombing of Libya, but it does

not want to cast itself in the role of a crusader spearheading the Non-Aligned onslaught on the U.S. for its military action against Libya, when the entire Non-Aligned community should be engaging in a collective effort to prevent such developments in future.

A clear distinction is being kept up at the highest level between India's international responsibilities in actively opposing such uses of force, and its bilateral interests in keeping up a mutually beneficial relationship with Washington. It is both possible and desirable, in India's view, to pursue this two-pronged policy without detriment to its national interests.

**Strongly worded:** The Government denounced the air attacks on Libya as a "clear act of aggression", in a strongly-worded statement. Amidst shouts of "shame, shame" from both sides of the House, the External Affairs Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, told the Lok Sabha in an outspoken statement, that the American bombing raids had placed "regional security and international peace in grave jeopardy".

He said: "The Government finds it reprehensible that a permanent member of the Security Council, having primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, has taken the law into its own hands and resorted to measures contrary to all norms of international conduct and the principles of the U.N. Charter".

**NAM support:** The External Affairs Minister also read out another statement issued in the name of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, in his capacity as current Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, deploring the U.S. air attacks on Libya and extending NAM's "firm support and solidarity to Libya at this critical hour", while condemning all forms of terrorism and urging all concerned to exercise restraint and not aggravate an already tense situation.

The two statements, made after hurried consultations by the Prime Minister and External Affairs Minister with senior officials, were followed by a special meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned countries who had already arrived in Delhi for the Coordination Bureau meeting opening tomorrow, for a collective denunciation of the American action.

**Talks with Arab delegations:** Mr. Bhagat, held urgent consultations with the heads of Arab delegations to coordinate their approach to this serious development, before the Foreign Ministers of Cuba, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, North Korea, Guyana, Guinea, Ghana, Jamaica, Laos, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Malawi, Mauritius and Congo met under India's chairmanship to discuss the consequences of the American milit-

ary action. The statement of the Prime Minister, which was circulated to various delegations after it was read out in Parliament, set the tone for these discussions with a severe condemnation of the "unjustifiable" American air attacks on Libya and an equally unequivocal denunciation of "all forms of terrorism, whether committed by individuals or organised by states."

This was the farthest that the present Government in India could go consistent with its policy of improved relations with the U.S. in mutual interest.

**Britain criticised:** The British Government came in for strong criticism at this meeting of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned countries for allowing American bombers based in the U.K. to participate in these air attacks along with the fighters operating from the U.S. aircraft carriers deployed close to the Libyan coast.

The Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Yaqub Khan, who arrived in Delhi this afternoon, could not participate in the Non-Aligned Ministerial Meeting on Libya, but he expressed his "profound shock" at the U.S. action against what he described as a "non-aligned Muslim nation". None of the other Foreign Ministers of Muslim countries, including those of Arab States invoked the Islamic character of Libya for joining secular India in condemning the U.S. action.

### Isolates 'Hawks' and Jingoists'

Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Apr 86 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE U.S. MILITARY attack on Libya is an outrageous act of international illegality, and the widespread condemnation it has provoked round the world—especially by the nonaligned movement and India as its chairman—suggests that nobody of any significance in international relations has swallowed the justification Washington has trotted out. Reflecting this in no uncertain manner are the condemnation by the emergency meeting of the Nonaligned Ministerial Conference in New Delhi, the reaction on behalf of the Islamic Conference and the Arab States and the virtual isolation of the United States from its allies in Europe on the question of right and wrong in this business. Those who do not dissociate themselves from such a dangerous course tend to place themselves on the side of a wrongdoer, so clear-cut is the issue of peace and sovereignty. The action of hitting Libya's capital, Tripoli, the Benghazi urban centre and other targets, military and civilian, confirms that the

fears entertained initially about the sobriety of the Reagan administration's view of the world—expressed in the opponents' evocation of the imagery of the 'mad bomber' and so on—are being realised to the detriment of world peace and stability. The lesson from the attack, and also the gunboat methods that preceded it, is that the superpowerful among states still feel it possible, given the structure and form of international politics, to violate ordinary norms of law, order and decency held to be binding on others. All that needs to be done to justify the unjustifiable is to make a unilateral claim and merely say (with the aid of media propaganda) that the argument is clinched. The posture that the U.S. military action is at a general level a counter-response to the Libyan leader, Col. Muammar Qadhafi's "reign of terror", and that specifically it has something to do with the alleged interception by the Americans of a secret "terrorist" message sent from Tripoli to the Libyan Em-



bassy in East Berlin, is an insult to the intelligence of those who stand by the rule of law in international affairs and the principles of national sovereignty. One does not in the least have to be an admirer of the methods of Col. Qadhafi in international politics to suggest that the special kind of notoriety he enjoys on the international stage is not unrelated to concerted Western propaganda. Honest people everywhere must, for instance, consider this question seriously: why is Col. Qadhafi subjected to this kind of pressure or blackmail by the U.S. (in that he is being asked continually to prove his innocence from the sweeping charge of "international terrorism") while its client state of Israel which has specialised in the theory and practice of terrorism against Palestinians and Arabs is supposed to be part of the civilised, democratic world?

It was a long time before the sober forces of American political opinion were able to organise effectively against the egregious folly and injustice of the Vietnam war. Nobody therefore needs to be under the illusion that Mr. Ronald Reagan will not find a considerable measure of domestic support for his jingoism: after all, there is a strong American ideological and political constituency that can be appealed to and nursed by such macho moves in external relations that are aimed at dissolving the image of an "America in decline" in a changing world. But going beyond the details of the big damage caused to Libya which has overnight won a considerable measure of international solidarity and

sympathy, the Reagan administration may soon begin to find—once the vulgar applause at home begins to die down—that U.S. foreign policy interests have been seriously damaged by the latest action. While there is evidence of a certain measure of collaboration, or at least acceptance, by the British Tory Government of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher (in sharp contrast to the line adopted by France, even West Germany and other Western powers), there is little doubt that the West European alliance is either aggrieved or seriously embarrassed by this dangerously unilateral military course. Does not the *modus operandi* of the American F-111s taking off from British facilities make the point about the lack of control over military adventurism and its consequences by the host states and peoples? If there is a single service that the unjustifiable Reagan administration action has performed, it is that of drawing a positive line isolating the hawks and the jingoists from most of the rest in the world. The Soviet response to the attack on a friendly power will be tough enough and at the very least the act will have an extremely negative impact on whatever half-chances of detente have turned up over the past year. The Indian Prime Minister as chairman of the nonaligned, and the movement itself, must be commended for being firm and forthright in their stand against the U.S. action—a position that is sensitive to the need for all the relevant players in the arena to do nothing that will aggravate the tensions caused by the U.S. action.

### More 'Global Murder' Expected

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 16 Apr 86 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

The American air strike on Libya, a much more massive assault than the previous encounter in the Gulf of Sidra, confirms the view of President Reagan as a Rambo figure itching to bring down the wrath of the world's most powerful country on those who dare to trifle with it. He says that the evidence that Libya was behind the recent bomb explosion in a West Berlin discotheque, which killed an American soldier and a Turkish woman and injured 230 people, is direct, precise and irrefutable. He owes it to the world to publish it. Until only a few hours before the attack, America's NATO allies were sceptical about Libyan involvement. Yet, Mr. Reagan says they have supported the raid, with Britain even allowing, contrary to earlier expectations, U.S. planes to take off from British bases. What caused this sudden *volte-face* by the allies? Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German foreign minister, had



steadfastly maintained that he, for one, was unconvinced of Libyan responsibility. The Dutch foreign minister has deplored the attack and, even as it was under way, France appears to have refused U.S. bombers permission to fly over its airspace en route to Libya, necessitating a 5,000-kilometre detour. Is the picture of West European support more complex than Mr. Reagan is making out?

Even if the Americans have established to their satisfaction that the Libyans are behind the West Berlin incident, does that justify such wildly disproportionate retaliation? The Americans say that Libya is one of the main command centres of international terrorism. Firstly, that is far from proven. Secondly, Iran and Syria are at least no less deeply implicated, if not more so. Is the U.S. going to bomb them next? Thirdly, even if Libya is culpable, does that entitle the U.S. to show utter contempt for international norms of conduct by taking the law into its own hands? Is American brutality the answer to global terrorism? The American action will overnight convert Colonel Gaddafi from a man about whom few leaders have a kind word to say to a third-world underdog arousing worldwide sympathy and support. Nor will terrorist actions cease because the U.S. has punished Libya. To the extent terrorists are beyond the pale of internationally accepted codes of conduct, they are answerable to no one. America is now an even more attractive target for them precisely because it can be counted on to hit back so savagely as to provoke a global crisis—which is what they want. Mr. Reagan believes his strike will “bring down the curtain” on Libya’s “reign of terror”. Rather, it may be going up on yet another, more savage act in the still unfolding drama of global murder.

#### Qadhdhafi Role Surpassed

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 16 Apr 86 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text]

THE U.S. air strike on Libya on Tuesday morning was unquestionably an act of aggression. To say this one does not have to be a supporter of Colonel Gaddafi's policies, far less an admirer of his personality. In fact, the American action can, and needs to, be condemned even without condoning any part of his recent record. The irrepressible Libyan leader is not merely an extraordinarily flamboyant character with delusions of grandeur, but he has often shown a measure of reckless irresponsibility which even his Arab supporters find disturbing. But while a Government affected by his actions is fully entitled to take appropriate

counter-measures, the United States has no legal or moral right to attack his country on the plea of disciplining him. The provocation that Washington has cited in defence of its action is too indirect, and the evidence too tenuous, to justify a full-scale assault on the security and sovereignty of the Libyan nation. If Colonel Gaddafi's extremist rhetoric has been matched by President Reagan's description of him as “the mad dog in the Middle East”, his adventurist role in some countries as well as his support for terrorist activities abroad has been surpassed by Mr Reagan's use of military force in brazen disregard of all international

conventions. The comparison does not do any credit to the United States.

Encouraging fringe terrorist groups espousing a variety of causes has been a distinctive feature of the "revolutionary" regime in Tripoli, and the targets have not always been Western Governments. Neither his Algerian neighbour, nor the Government in Chad, nor in fact the Arab world as a whole, has reason to be particularly appreciative of Colonel Gaddafi's brand of anti-imperialist or specifically anti-Western strategies. But President Reagan is mistaken if he believes that the use of military force, in what his strategists describe as "limited surgical strikes", can bring the Libyan leader to heel, or rally world opinion against him. The hostile reaction of the Arab world to America's military adventurism, and the reservations even among those of its allies who have experienced allegedly Libyan-

inspired terrorism at first hand, should have induced second thoughts. That the Western allies, especially Britain, were pressured to fall into line can only be temporarily reassuring; misgivings about the basis of the alliance cannot but be deepened by the American action. And while the Soviet Union may not stick its neck out in Colonel Gaddafi's cause, it is bound to take a serious view of the wider implications of Mr Reagan's strategic doctrine.

Even if the U.S. war games, followed by a taste of war, succeed in chastening the Libyan leader for the time being, it is difficult to see how this will ease the problem of terrorism in the West. On the contrary, every Libyan casualty is likely to be an excuse for small fanatical groups, not necessarily Libyan, to seek mindless revenge. Fighting terrorism, Libyan-inspired or other, cannot be so simple and drastic a procedure

as President Reagan favours. There are enough disgruntled parties — Palestinians, Kurds, Armenians, Basques, Red Brigades—who take to under-cover violence either to attract attention or to bypass conventional politics. Even without Colonel Gaddafi's active complicity, terrorist acts are likely to continue, and there is already too much violence without President Reagan adding to it. While a Rambo solution might appear attractive to powerful men with limited political understanding, greater circumspection and the active assistance of the Arab States might prove more effective in the war against terrorism. And above all, a solution would depend largely on a speedy end to the Palestinian dispute. Use of superior military force in contemptuous disregard of the sensitivities of weaker nations can only distract the public mind from the menace of terrorist activity.

#### Communist Paper Editorial Article

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by R.K. Mishra]

[Text]

Ronald Reagan has, without doubt, entered his name in the annals of contemporary history as the Godfather of state terrorism. The US bombing raid on Libya has proved that he respects no international norms; he believes only in one law — the law of the jungle. The US Air Force was assigned to murder Col Gaddafi — there is no other explanation of bombing the Libyan leader's residence. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has strongly condemned the reprehensible American aggression against a nonaligned country. Reagan, we know, treats world opinion with indifference. Even for America's allies, the US President has nothing but utter contempt.

According to former American Ambassador to UN Andrew Young, Ronald Reagan behaves like a heavyweight boxing champion who enters a kindergarten and beats up a child to prove his manliness. "It is not manliness but evidence of a sick mind", Andrew Young said in course of conversation during his visit to Delhi last month. Reagan is brazenfaced in inventing alibis for his acts of brigandage; in Grenada then and Libya now. Every time he suffers a setback, Reagan acts like a maniac running amuck on the international stage. The American reverses in Lebanon, according to Andrew Young, spurred the US President to display his "manliness" by raping Grenada. The opposition in the American Congress to his demand for funds for counterrevolution in Nicaragua might have induced him to launch the naked aggression against Libya. Reagan hates nonalignment, he is flexing muscles not only against the human race, he is also at war against the US Congress, Andrew Young added.

Whatever the reasons, the fact remains that the action of the chief executive of one of the mightiest military powers in the world has become a menace to the security of all countries, particularly the smaller, nonaligned countries. By striking Libyan targets from the American base in Britain, Ronald Reagan has demonstrated the real purpose of establishing these military outposts — to intimidate every nation which has the courage to assert its independence and raise its head in defiance of US threats.

The American aggression against Libya is a warning to the Arab world, to the nonaligned countries and to America's allies. In fact every nation which values its sovereignty and freedom cannot but take notice of the grave threat inherent in this act of state terrorism. So far, the US administration preferred covert action against countries and governments it wanted to destabilise and dislodge. Now it has given up all pretences. It has made state terrorism an instrument of foreign policy. Every international forum which the US fails to bend to its wishes faces the threat of destruction by Reagan's machinations. Security Council will be made impotent by veto, the United Nations rendered helpless by arm-twisting of weaker nations and defiance of international opinion.

True, where Hitler failed, Reagan cannot succeed. It is, however, important that no civilised government should vet the maniac's appetite by acquiescence or endorsement of this aggression. Though Margaret Thatcher has chosen to follow in the footsteps of Neville Chamberlain, not many others will join her in this display of disgusting surrender to Reagan's crime against humanity. The world is witnessing the most dangerous turn of events in recent times. India has shown the courage of her convictions. The snowballing effect of this fearlessness is the only hope in an otherwise grim situation.

#### Fuel for Enemies of U.S.

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 17 Apr 86 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

Sometimes one has to witness events with completely unbelieving eyes. When the cartoonists were enjoying themselves caricaturing President Ronald Reagan as another Rambo (the one-man, one-syllable all-purpose army who singlehandedly indulges in extraordinary killing sprees in the defence of American 'honour' and is the current darling of cinema audiences), even the most cynical of them would have been hard put to believe that Mr Ronald Reagan would actually implement a Rambo-style foreign policy. If nothing else, it was assumed by nations around the world that President Reagan would be protected from his worst instincts by the institutions which create and implement US foreign policy. Unfortunately, the state department under Mr George Shultz has often tended to be even more adolescently aggressive than its current mentor. Far from using a restraining hand, the secretary of state has often been more loyal than the king, adding menace to bluster when the time came around to rattle sabres. It was typical of Mr Shultz that his primary comment on the attack on Libya was his emphasis on what he saw as a new determination in US foreign policy—the willingness to complement every threat with military action. "What is clear tonight," declared secretary Shultz, "is that the US will take military action under certain circumstances. That is established. That is very important." Okay, Mr Shultz, we have heard that: what should we do now, go down on our knees in supplication to the might of the great United States of America? Apart from

the sheer arrogance of the statement, the dangers inherent in that imperialistic attitude are not going to be lost on the rest of the world.

That Mr Reagan is a simplistic man is common knowledge. His warmest admirers accept this, even as they lower their voices while doing so. One of the most important of his early appointees, the former budget director, David A. Stockman, has just published his memoirs. He explains the working of the Reagan mind thus: "When he (Mr Reagan) was ... called on to justify the (budget) cuts, he would remember only that he was making a cut, not why...the President's body of knowledge is primarily impressionistic...he registers anecdotes rather than concepts." Thanks to a confluence of extraordinary circumstances, the people of the US elected and reelected him; but the problem is that the rest of the world has to suffer him. Very early on, Mr Reagan decided that Colonel Gaddafi of Libya was among the "evil" men in the world, and then has consistently set about trying to destabilise him. When the American intelligence organisations failed in their covert attempts to do so, and when America's closest allies, including Egypt, balked at the idea of direct intervention, Mr Reagan simply decided to go it alone. His motivations were clear. What is less clear is the reason for his confidence that he could get away with it. Many of the conditions were in favour of the United States, of course. Libya may not have been as toothless as Grenada, but surely even Colonel Gaddafi did not quite believe his own claims when describing Libya's military prowess. Second, the militant Colonel has few friends in the Arab world, and his powerful neighbour Egypt would be even happier than the United States to see him out of power. Third, Libya's known support of radical causes makes even neutral nations a little wary of Colonel Gaddafi. But none of this, including the last, justifies the arbitrary declaration of war by the US on Libya.

President Reagan may have the strength to get away with his punitive strikes without much loss to American men or war machines but if he thinks that this act of war has enhanced either his or his country's reputation in the world, then he is very mistaken. In fact, President Reagan has just provided a decade's fuel for rhetoric to the enemies of the US by justifying every accusation they ever made. The friends of the US, particularly nations like Pakistan and including much of western Europe, will be embarrassed (we must ignore governments like those of Mrs Margaret Thatcher who take pride in marrying their foreign policies to America's), the nonaligned world alarmed, and of course the anti-US bloc justifiably gleeful. The United States has virtually isolated itself by this exaggerated response, and it will be hurt in the long run. The devotees of Rambo may stand up and cheer their hero in Washington, but there is a sensible world which is going to greet this news with grief, despair or anger.

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CSO: 4600/1674

INDIA

REPORT ON GANDHI SPEECH TO AIR FORCE COMMANDERS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 Apr 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 14.

**T**HE Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, today called for a long-term defence plan that could be dovetailed into the country's foreign policy and development programmes.

Addressing the air force commanders' conference, Mr. Gandhi said efforts in the field of defence research should be in a perspective framework, envisaging expected developments in the next 15 years.

He reiterated the government's full commitment to the Light Combat Aircraft (LCA) development project and said many such projects and a faster pace of indigenisation was required.

Referring to flight safety, of IAR aircraft, Mr. Gandhi said the record had been slightly blemished with the loss of two AN-32 aircraft. He appreciated the efforts made by the air force to improve its training facilities and general functioning.

Reviewing security environment, the Prime Minister said India had taken positive initiatives to improve relations with its neighbours. Some of these had borne fruit while others were yet to yield tangible results.

In the international field, the Geneva summit had not led to any concrete results. However, the six-nation initiative on nuclear disarmament provided a significant ray of hope. It had received tremendous response from the people of developed countries.

The chief of air staff, Air Chief Marshal D. A. la Fontaine, stressed the need for more realistic aircrew training in order to cope with the future war scenarios. In the area of flight safety, the air chief referred to improved statistics and expressed satisfaction at the reduction of accidents caused by human error and bird strike.

Earlier, the Prime Minister presented "squadron of the year" trophies to six fighter and transport squadrons for their flight safety record.

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CSO: 4600/1670



## GOVERNMENT ARMS POLICE WITH TIGHTER LAWS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 17 Apr 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 16.

**T**HE home minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, today outlined in the Lok Sabha the government's steps to bring about a "real and substantial improvement" in the performance of the police.

These included a exercise undertaken by the home ministry for removal of lacunae in the Evidence Act and Indian Criminal Procedure Code. He conceded that over the years the "quality of our investigation has suffered due to overwork" and the lacunae in the Evidence Act.

"Unless the investigation is proper, criminals will go scot free," he said.

The minister was replying to the debate on demands for grants of the home ministry. The house approved the demands by a voice vote.

Mr. Rao told the Lok Sabha that the government wanted to "firm up" provisions of citizenship laws. He pointed out that vital statistics in regard to registration of citizenship "are not reliable". It was high time to clear mental reservations about citizenship and to give rules in this regard a facelift.

## VITAL STATISTICS

Collection of vital statistics today depended largely on patwaris (petty revenue officials), who displayed a casual attitude regarding collection of data, he said.

Mr. Rao referred to the problem of infiltration and in this context, citizenship problems in Assam. He urged members to launch a national campaign for correct compilation and collection of statistical data.

The minister stressed the need for modernisation of the police force as it was now 'up against sophisticated criminals.

Referring to the five-year plan being worked out by the home ministry, he said that though it would be in a non-plan sector, it would enjoy the priority of a plan-sector programme.

Mr. Rao told members that licensing of semi-automatic weapons and carbines had already been banned. However, the government would look into making laws for granting firearms more stringent.

The home minister said 82 of the 85 national police commission recommendations pertaining to the centre had been accepted and implemented. The government was not delaying matters.

## UNWANTED TRANSFERS

Regarding development of the north-eastern region, the minister said a team of secretaries had visited Arunachal Pradesh and more teams were likely to go there to expedite matters. The problems of the region would not be allowed to "simmer into serious consequences".

About the Andaman and Nicobar islands, the minister said it was not correct to say that only "unwanted

officers were being posted there. These islands might be far away but they were not any longer like "Kalapani" of yesteryears.

Some of the islands were now being identified for development as tourist spots. It was not possible to develop all the islands as tourist spots due to security reasons.

Mr. Rao said a Rs. 641-crore outlay had been fixed in the seventh plan to develop dacoit-infested areas in U.P., Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. The central share in the outlay was Rs. 240 crores. These funds would largely be spent on reclaiming the ravines, and on improving communications.

UNI adds: A five-year plan for modernising the police forces and ensuring better amenities to police personnel is also being worked out, Mr. Rao said.

He said the government had plans "to do certain things" for the police forces during the five-year period, but did not elaborate.

The home minister added that the government was in the process of raising funds to finance the plan.

Referring to members' demands for tightening of the Arms Act, he said states would have to be firmer about granting firearms licences. Henceforth, no licences would be issued for semi-automatic weapons and carbines.

Mr. Rao said the minister of internal security in his intervention had already spoken of the formation of a committee to look into the security aspect in jails.

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CSO: 4600/1673

INDIA

## INDIA REPORTED FACING RECORD TRADE DEFICIT

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 Apr 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW YORK, April 14  
(UNI):

PAKISTAN'S top opposition leader Ms. Benazir Bhutto, has questioned Gen. Zia-ul-Haq's "exorbitant" spending on the army.

In an interview published today by the American magazine "Time" the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) chairperson said she wanted to look at Gen. Zia's military expenditure "in relation to our other social needs."

In reply to a question on military expenditure, Ms. Bhutto, who went back to Pakistan last week after a two-year self-imposed exile in Britain, said: "I do believe military expenditures are exorbitant."

"At the moment," Ms. Bhutto cited, "two dollars per person are spent on education, and 2,000 dollars per person are spent on the army. Now is that fair?" she asked.

### NEED FOR CHANGE

In response to other questions, Ms. Bhutto predicted a change of rule in the country. "The people of the country want change, and they want change now."

"It's a question of whether that change is going to come peacefully, through moderate forces such as myself, or through anarchy and chaos."

"If Gen. Zia steps down gracefully, I hope we can look forward to a period in which Pakistan build democracy."

She denied she was driven by a desire to avenge her father, whom Gen. Zia deposed through a military coup and had hanged.

"Revenge has never, ever been one of my motivations," she said, adding that her father was vindicated when almost a million people rallied at La-

hore to greet her home-coming last week.

"There has been too much darkness, too much persecution, too much ruthlessness. The people of Pakistan want to breathe freely again."

Referring to the rally, she said the people "were so responsive that we could have brought down the government... if I had asked that crowd, they could have set the (military) cantonment on fire, they could have set the assembly on fire, they could have set the ministers' houses on fire."

"But it's not our way. We don't want to come to power through bloodshed. We want power through peaceful means. I am going to be making this point: let us peacefully bring about democracy. We have been the victims of violence, but we stand for peace."

On foreign policy, she said her objective was a region free of external pressure and an independent and non-aligned foreign policy.

On Afghanistan, she said: "For Pakistan the key goal is a political settlement in which the main ingredients would be the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the return of Afghan refugees from Pakistan to Afghanistan."

PTI adds: Ms. Benazir challenged the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammad Khan Junejo to hold fresh elections.

"The present administration was born in the lap of martial law and it may die in its lap," she said referring to the partyless polls under martial law which elected the national assembly. "That would be a very sad and unfortunate end".

She said that, instead of hanging on against what she called the people's will, the civilian government should hold a completely free election.

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CSO: 4600/1670

INDIA

#### MOST OF GUJARAT IN GRIP OF SEVERE DROUGHT

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 16 Apr 86 p 16

[Text] New Delhi, April 15--Sixteen of the 19 districts of Gujarat are in the grip of a severe drought affecting 75 percent of the population in the State, reports UNI.

According to senior State Government officials, about 14,000 villages were hit by the drought which is most severe in the Saurashtra region. The worst affected are Rajkot, Jamnagar, Amreli and Junagadh districts.

A Press party which toured the affected areas saw the Government and voluntary agencies engaged in various relief operations.

The State Government is implementing a Rs 425 crore "action plan" envisaging provision of employment and drinking water, preservation of cattle wealth and to discourage its distress sale. Long-term measures include laying of drinking water pipelines and afforestation, the officials said.

Asked to specify why long-term measures had not been initiated earlier in spite of drought being a "perennial" feature in the State, the Gujarat Relief Commissioner, Mr C.K. Koshi, said a study group had been appointed to suggest long-term measures. The group would submit its report by the end of May.

Mr Koshi said it was also proposed to bring drinking water by special trains from neighbouring States if the situation so warranted. The State Government has also worked out a special contingency plan in the event of failure of monsoon this year. The plan envisages sending drinking water and other essentials to worst-affected areas on a war-footing.

The Narmada Valley Project, a long-term project to provide relief to the drought-prone regions of the State, was getting delayed due to the paucity of funds, officials said. The State has so far spent Rs 350 crores on leveling and foundation work. The Rs 5,800 crore project is being constructed on a shared-cost basis by Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Gujarat.

More than 900,000 people have been given employment and each worker is paid Rs 11 a day under relief works. About 3 crore kg of fodder has been despatched to various affected areas and more procurement operations are going on.

In addition, the Government has initiated a scheme for the production of low cost cattle food using surplus bagasse available with sugar factories. An agreement has also been entered into for the purchase of 12,500 million of wheat bran and a programme for growing green fodder in about 300 acres of Government farms has already been launched.

Voluntary agencies have admitted about 200,000 cattle in Gakshalas, Panjrapoles and cattle camps. The Government is providing a subsidy of Rs 3 for the maintenance of each cattle.

Drinking water situation in Rajkot and Amreli is the worst as the ground water table in these two districts have registered a record low. Efforts to deepen existing wells and dig new ones proved futile.

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CSO: 4600/1671

INDIA

BRIEFS

**RAJASTHAN GAS DEPOSITS**--Jaipur, April 12--Preliminary surveys have revealed the presence of huge quantities of oil and gas in the Bikaner, Jaisalmer, Nagaur and Jodhpur districts in western Rajasthan. According to the present indications the region possesses an estimated 150 million tonnes of oil and gas. Of this, 97 million tonnes is expected to be gas and 53 million tonnes oil. Possible locations for drilling oil wells in Ramgarh and Tanot were also identified during the preliminary survey conducted jointly by Oil India and a French firm. The findings are being processed in India and France. Drilling is likely to start in the next financial year. According to an official of Oil India the drilling might have to be undertaken up to a depth of 5,000 metres or more. Initially, desert hydraulic rigs were planned to be purchased from the United States but in view of their high cost each costs nearly Rs 13 crores, the idea was dropped. They will now be hired. Oil India plans to complete work on six wells by the end of the Seventh Plan. The World bank has been approached for financial assistance worth \$4 crore. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 13 Apr 86 p 5] /9317

**INDO-NICARAGUAN TRADE TALKS**--New Delhi, April 9--A five-member Indian techno-economic delegation led by Mr Kamallesh Sharma, joint secretary in the ministry of external affairs, has concluded its five-day visit to Nicaragua. During its stay, the delegation had wide-ranging discussions with Nicaraguan officials to identify areas of mutual cooperation in the fields of agriculture, industry, trade as well as technical assistance. The delegation was received by the Nicaraguan President, Mr Daniel Ortega, and the foreign minister, Mr Miguel D'escoto. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 10 Apr 86 p 6] /9317

**RAJASTHAN CABINET RESHUFFLE**--Jaipur, April 9 (PTI)--In a minor reshuffle of portfolios, the Rajasthan chief minister, Mr Harideo Joshi, has taken away the local self government, urban development and town planning portfolios from Mr Chogaram Akolia and allotted him the portfolios of food and civil supply. The charge of food and civil supply was hitherto held by the education minister, Mr Heera Lal Devpura. The reshuffle was announced last night after the chief minister returned here from Delhi. Mr Joshi also allocated independent charges to some of his state ministers. Mr Ram Kishar Verma has been given independent charge of economics, statistics, stationary and printing and Mr Jakia Inam will hold the independent charge of family welfare. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 10 Apr 86 p 4] /9317



**LIBYAN DENIAL**--Libyan envoy in India Omar A.J. Val-Aukali assured the Government of India on Friday that no recruitment of Indian nationals to the Libyan armed forces would be undertaken, reports PTI. The envoy was called to the foreign office by secretary N.P. Jain, following appearance of an advertisement in Indian newspapers calling for volunteers. Mr Jain expressed surprise that such an advertisement should have been placed in Indian newspapers. The envoy explained that it was intended for recruitment from West Asia and Arab countries. It was not the intention to recruit personnel from India. He said no recruitment has been undertaken. He also gave an assurance that such advertisements would not be placed in Indian newspapers in future. The envoy said although people had volunteered and offered their services after appearance of the advertisement, nobody had been recruited. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 12 Apr 86 p 6] /9317

**AIR FORCE PURCHASE PLANS**--New Delhi, April 11--India is to purchase more Mirage-2000 fighter aircraft from France to bolster the strength of the Indian Air Force Mirage fleet, it is authoritatively learnt, reports UNI. The Mirages would be in addition to the 40 which have already been contracted for purchase from Marcel Dassault. Only a few remain to be delivered from the first purchase. The French producers of the Mirage-2000 futuristic aircraft also renewed their proposal for the licence production of the plane by the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited. But it is learnt that the Government has not accepted the proposal as it involves opening of another assembly-cum-production line. HAL already produces MIG-27 fighters. The Air Force considers that the strength of two squadrons comprising 40 Mirage-2000 aircraft is not a sufficiently viable force since the aircraft has to remain operational with the IAF beyond the year 2000. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 12 Apr 86 p 1] /9317

**FRENCH PIPELINE CONTRACT**--New Delhi, April 7--The Government announced in the Lok Sabha today that the contract for the construction of the Hazira-Bijaipur-Jagdishpur gas pipeline project had been awarded to the French consortium led by Messrs Spie Capag, whose bid emerged the lowest in the overall analysis. The Minister of State for Petroleum and Natural Gas, Mr Chandra Shekhar Singh, told the House that the decision was based on the final evaluation of the four revised bids received on April 3. Making a suo moto statement, he said the Government had assured itself that the contractor it had selected for the execution of this first major high-pressure, cross-country gas pipeline project in this country "is the best in all respects." He said that as a result of the decision to invite fresh bids the Government had been able to bring down the project cost by Rs 100 crores and saved scarce foreign exchange. Also, more attractive credit packages had been received. Adequate indigenous content in the project was being ensured by way of participation of many private and public sector undertakings, such as Telecommunications Consultants of India, Hindustan Aeronautics, Bharat Heavy Electrical and Larsen and Toubro. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 8 Apr 86 p 9] /9317

INTEGRATION PANEL FORMED--New Delhi, April 7--The National Integration Council, at an emergency meeting here today, reaffirmed the resolve of all parties and individuals present at the meeting and of all democratic elements in the nation "to safeguard the freedom, integrity and secular character of our great country." After a marathon meeting lasting 11 hours "at this grave juncture when the dark forces of communalism are working hand in hand with those of violence, terrorism, subversion and externally-inspired destabilization," the council appointed a 21-member standing committee of eminent non-Government leaders and eight Chief Ministers that would help in the implementation of the council's resolution, forward its own proposals to the council or before the Government, and meet as often as necessary to review the situation. "It has a wide mandate," Mr Ram Niwas Mirdha, Minister of State for Home Affairs, told a Press conference tonight. UNI adds: The Council tonight gave a call for ending the misuse of places of worship, particularly the illegal occupation of the Golden Temple complex by subversive elements who had "desecrated its sanctity." [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 8 Apr 86 p 1] /9317

TAMIL NADU MINISTER--Madras, April 7--A senior minister in Mr M.G. Ramachandran's cabinet, Mr K.A. Krishnaswamy resigned today after he had been divested of the labour portfolio. Mr Krishnaswamy, minister for labour, dairy development, animal husbandry and registration, announced his decision to resign in the assembly as, he said, "suddenly I find that for reasons not known to me there has been a change of portfolio." The chief minister is away at Delhi to attend the meeting of the National Integration Council. A Raj Bhavan notification said earlier that the finance minister, Mr V.R. Nedunchezhiyan, would hold additional charge of labour. [Excerpt] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 8 Apr 86 p 1] /9317

CSO: 4600/1669

IRAN

## EMIGRE PAPER DISCUSSES TEHRAN-MOSCOW PROPAGANDA WAR

GFO61322 London KEYHAN in Persian 1 May 86 p 1

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] KEYHAN Political Service -- Cold war propaganda between Moscow and Tehran resumed last week. Following Radio Moscow and Izvestiya attacks on the leaders of the Islamic Republic regime for continuing the war with Iraq, the Islamic Republic radio, the "Friday Imams," and other organizations started strong attacks on the Soviet Union. They also held Moscow responsible for the U.S. attack on Libya and claimed that the attack had taken place with the connivance of the Soviet Union.

During the seminar of the governors-general, Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohtashami, the interior minister of the Islamic Republic, launched a strong attack on the Soviet Union and dubbed it an oppressive power. He also announced that the U.S. attack on Libya had taken place with the connivance of the Soviet Union and that these two oppressive powers cooperate with each other on international problems.

The interior minister of the Islamic regime said: The Soviet Union did not show even the slightest reaction to the U.S. attack on Libya. Similarly, he strongly criticized Radio Moscow propaganda, against the Islamic Republic. He said: With this propaganda, the Soviet Union wants to defame the good reputation of the Islamic Republic to the world.

The daily JOMHURI-YE Eslami, the organ of the regime in Iran, which is under the management of Hojjat ol-Eslam 'ali Khamene'i, has strongly attacked the Soviet Union. It has written:

There was not even the slightest effective move from Moscow relating to the U.S. attack on Libya. This took place while Moscow had commitments toward Libya. This is not by coincidence. It is a principle regularly followed by the Soviet Union. In the present instance, the Soviet Union's attitude is further proof of the principle which it follows. In other words, the practical silence of the Kremlin in the face of the U.S. attack against Libyan territory is not a surprise. It would have been a surprise if Moscow had acted differently and had taken a serious step.

The present stance of the Soviet Union is not unprecedented. We have not forgotten that during the course of the unfinished October 1973 war, when the Arabs asked for help from Moscow and pleaded for more arms and ammunition,

they met with a negative response and were clearly told that the continuation of the war was not in their interest and that the Arabs should accept at cease fire.

The slogan "Death to the Soviet Union," followed by "Death to the United States," which had for a short period been halted, was resumed last week in Friday prayer ceremonies and in street marches. Radio Moscow and other radio stations located within the Soviet Union or in some of its satellite countries, including Radio Kabul, have begun strong attacks on the Islamic Republic.

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CSO: 4640/286

IRAN

# SAUDI VIEWS OF U.S. POLICIES ON GULF WAR REPORTED

GFO61610 London KEYHAN in Persian 1 May 86 p 16

[London KEYHAN in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

["Behind-the-Scene-Politics" column: "Saudi Arabian Displeasure at the U.S. policies on Iran-Iraq War"]

[Text] The latest visit of U.S. Vice President George Bush to Saudi Arabia has shown that the Arabs are more displeased with U.S. Middle East policies than the United States thinks. Saudi Arabia's unhappiness was expressed by the fact that Saudi Crown Prince 'Abdallah, who in protocol hierarchy is considered equal to the Vice President, left Riyadh a few hours before Bush was due there and proceeded to Dhahran, the oil city, to join King Fahd.

THE WASHINGTON POST, which published the report, went on to say that the high-ranking personality Reagan had sent to Saudi Arabia could, therefore, meet only the governor of Riyadh and authorities lower in rank than members of the royal family.

The Saudis were annoyed that the United States consider them responsible for the fall in oil prices which has proven very costly for the U.S. oil industry.

However, Saudi Arabia's greatest annoyance with the United States is related to Israel and the Islamic Republic. The Saudis complain that the United States, under pressure from Israel, does not sell arms to its Arab friends in the required quantities. The Israelis have succeeded in having cancelled a \$1.9 billion arms deal between the United States and Jordan. They also seek to prevent the sale of \$245 million worth of missiles to Saudi Arabia.

The Saudis are also angry with the United States for not doing their best to halt the Iran-Iraq war because continuation of the war benefits Israel in two ways -- Israel is happy to keep a major part of the Arab forces engaged in war with the Islamic Republic and it is able to sell large quantities of arms to the Islamic Republic at a very high price. The discovery of the smuggling of large quantities of arms from the United States to the Islamic Republic through Israel was made possible only by a divine help. Although this discovery caused joy in Saudi Arabia, it made matters worse for the Islamic Republic and Israel. The Islamic Republic and Israel have both strongly denied that they had a hand in any such transaction, but their denials obviously hold no water.



Political circles in the United States consider this discovery an appeasement of the Arabs by the United States, but they do not deny that this may also be a sign of change in Israeli policies toward the Persian Gulf war.

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CSO: 4640/287

IRAN

PAPER SPECULATES ON REACTION TO POSSIBLE U.S. ATTACK

LD271553 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1200 GMT 12 Apr 86

["Press Review"]

[Excerpts] JOMHURI-YE Eslami carries the following leader in its today's issue, entitled America and a New Experience in Fighting Faith and Ideology.

Despite the fact that Reagan's miscalculated remarks on the possibility of military attack against Iran was immediately corrected by his secretary of state and furthermore that the State Department, in a separate statement, withdrew Reagan's threat, swift reactions were shown in the Islamic Republic and certain other countries against this clumsy stand adopted by the U.S. President. These reactions are both significant and cogitative.

In the midst of all this, the recent insanity demonstrated by Reagan and some of his associates leads to the emergence of yet another issue. Although this issue is not only peculiar to the United States, yet it concerns the American people more than any other nation. The point is, why are the American people (?prepared to put up with) the administration of incompetent, clumsy and criminal individuals such as Reagan, who has brought them nothing but disgrace and public hatred?

This question also applies precisely to many other nations, such as the British people, for according to a recent poll, they have shown that 70 percent of them are dissatisfied and even angry with Thatcher's decision to collaborate with Reagan in raiding Libya. Then, we also should ask the British people: Why are you willing to put up with the government of a person who is disgracing you throughout the world and who, contrary to your wishes, resorts to committing crimes against others? The most accurate and correct answer to this question must be: The American and British peoples and a great many other countries, where people like Reagan and Thatcher rule over them, are the most helpless people in the world; for they, more than any other nations, tolerate the consequences of insane acts and the bullying and dominating instincts of the individuals who rule them. The fact is that the British and American people are so helpless in choosing their leaders that there is nothing they can do. What is even more important is that as a result of pressures applied by the seemingly democratic but nevertheless police states on their people, their voices are actually not heard.

The depth of the tragedy is such that the oppressed and depressed strata, encompassing the majority of the people in such countries as the United States, Britain, and France, are unable to make themselves heard by other nations. The media in these countries are totally under the control of the ruling cliques. Not only do they not report social facts, but they reflect the appearances of a people which is diametrically opposed to existing facts.

The cardinal reason for the inability of American and British peoples to elect their desired governments should be found in this very fact. Therefore, it is quite natural to see an insane actor such as Reagan running the government in America and in Britain a winding-doll being operated by the Zionists. What concerns the threat made by an insane actor such as Reagan against the Islamic Republic of Iran, however, is the swift repercussions which were made evident both inside and outside Iran. As for what happened inside Iran, the decision made by the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps in establishing the Qa'em battalions as a practical measure, and the remarks made by Hojjat Ol-Eslam val-Muslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majlis, during the Friday prayers in Tehran as a political stand, backed by practical support, are notable and worth deliberation.

The Americans know only too well that the Islamic Republic of Iran has fundamental differences compared to any other country. Let us remember the recent remarks made by the Majlis speaker, who said: If the United States tries to take any action in the region, then we will make it understand what terrorism means. This remark is backed by highly powerful and fully guaranteed grounds. Demonstrations and stands taken by peoples in a number of countries over the past 2 days in protest to the threat made by Reagan against the Islamic Republic of Iran could serve as a lesson for Reagan's advisers and make them realize what awaits the United States throughout the world should it take the slightest step against the Islamic Republic. Then they could make Reagan understand that under such circumstances, not a single American associated with the Reagan Administration will be safe anywhere in the world' that nothing could protect U.S. interests in the four corners of the world.

Should the United States attack Iran, then not only Iran will be turned into a graveyard for U.S. aggressors, rather, all U.S. embassies and military, commercial, and cultural centers in various parts of the world will be turned into graveyards for the Americans working there; even on U.S. soil.

The insane Reagan and his criminal clique must realize that the Islamic Revolution enjoys millions of devotees throughout the world as well as in the United States, who, when necessary, will not await orders to come from Tehran; that, based on their own belief and faith will set ablaze the entire existence and survival of the arch-Satan. Should this battle, which if it takes place would be a historical one, be waged, God will be on the side of the Iranian people. Under such circumstances, everything on his order will be deployed to right the United States, as it was demonstrated in Tabas.

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IRAN

# FORCED LANDING AT BAKU AIRPORT REPORTED

GFO71448 London KEYHAN in Persian 1 May 86 p 3

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Tehran, KEYHAN News Service -- Soviet MiG's forced an Iranian passenger "plane belonging to the 'Asman Aviation Company'" to force land in the Soviet Union. This aircraft carried the leader and members of the Islamic Republic delegation to the OPEC conference in Geneva.

According to a report by informed sources, while crossing from Iranian airspace into Soviet airspace last Monday, the 'Asman Aviation Company's aircraft carrying petroleum minister 'Aqazadeh, officials of the Islamic Republic and the oil company, and a number of armed guards was besieged by Soviet MiG's and forced to land at Baku Airport. The Soviet military authorities took the aircraft to a far corner of the runway. The aircraft was detained at the airport for 6 hours and was not allowed to take off until the arrival of Soviet representatives from Moscow, who held talks with the Iranian delegation, then let them go. It is believed that the reason for this action was because the 'Asman Aviation Company had not given prior notice to the Soviet authorities that the aircraft was to fly through Soviet airspace normally reserved for Iranian aircraft.

Apparently, this incident has been the subject of a protest from the Islamic Republic authorities to the Soviet Union. Islamic Republic authorities have refrained from releasing news that the aircraft was forced to land in the Soviet Union. They have also asked the Soviet authorities not to reveal this incident.

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IRAN

AUTHORS OF BOOK ON 'FUTURE SHAH' INTERVIEWED IN PARIS

Brussels LE SOIR ILLUSTRÉ in French 27 Mar 86 pp 16-17

[Interview with Christian Malar and Alain Rodier, media newsmen, conducted by Michel Marteau; date and place not given]

[Text] For some years he was looked upon as the pretender to the throne in some operetta, with no political future. But things are beginning to stir for the eldest son of the late Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, whose ambition is one day to become the Juan Carlos of Iran. We met with the authors of a remarkable book on this young prince who believes in his destiny.

On 27 July 1980, the Shah of Iran died in exile in Egypt, a year and a half after being driven out of his country by Islamic fundamentalists.

On 31 October 1980, his son Reza celebrated his 20th birthday, simultaneously proclaiming himself "de jure" King of Iran under the name of Reza II. It must be said that at that time very few observers believed in the political future of this young man.

Since then a great deal of blood has flowed. Today a large number of Iranians would be quite willing to call for the accession of a democratic government. Under what form? It is at this point that talk is once again heard of Reza and his proposals for the Iran of tomorrow.

Christian Malar, the chief reporter at RTL, and Alain Rodier, the head of the investigation and reporting services of French Television, Channel One, have just written a very interesting book about this young monarch in exile, a work that enters into specific details concerning the political options presented by Reza, the difficulties he faces and the sources of support he can count on in the various movements that make up the Iranian diaspora. Above all their book --"Reza Pahlavi--le fils du shah de l'exil à la reconquête" [Reza Pahlavi--The Shah's Son, from Exile to Reconquest] (Editions Plon)--gives us a better grasp on the personality of this ambitious yet realistic man who still believes in his destiny.

To learn more about him, we met in Paris with Messrs Malar and Rodier, who have had several interviews with Reza in the United States, where he makes his permanent residence.



[Question] Nearly six years after the death of his father, how does Reza look upon the man who was the shah?

[Answer] He refuses to judge his father, but that does not prevent him from recognizing that the latter did make mistakes, particularly by letting himself be influenced by a segment of his entourage of parasites. Reza does not understand why the shah was considered a dictator: he thinks, particularly with respect to the number of political prisoners, that everything his father did was systematically denigrated by means of a huge international propaganda campaign orchestrated by his enemies.

#### He Wants No Revenge

[Question] Does Reza dream of revenge against the mullahs, one great settling of accounts at the time of an eventual return of the monarchy to Iran?

[Answer] Absolutely not. On the contrary, he dreams only of national reconciliation: Reza does not want to see the mullahs hanged on the trees of Tehran nor to take vengeance on one or other group. "My compatriots will have to give proof of tolerance!" he told us. Reza's major project is the following: to establish in his country a constitutional monarchy modeled after that of Spain. In fact he would like to become the Juan Carlos of Iran. He would thus symbolize national unity by placing himself above parties, by not binding his allegiance to any single social class or group. What are his chances? It is difficult to say! In fact many hypotheses remain open. One rather realistic one is the following: The army foment a coup d'etat, overturns the government of the mullahs, and in a second phase, calls upon Reza to serve as regent, after a government has been formed. An immense nostalgia for the old regime now exists in Iran. Among the Iranian exiles in Europe, some have told us: "If Reza knew the potential popularity he enjoys in his country, he would act more quickly!" But for the moment Reza prefers to act prudently and avoid missteps, although his own personality urges him rather to firmness.

#### "The Family Must Not Get Mixed Up with Politics"

[Question] Your book is rather insistent on the fact: the shah's government owes its failure in large measure to the intrigues of his corrupted entourage, which included members of his own family. Is Reza really aware of this? What attitude has he adopted with regard to these profiteers?

[Answer] He has severed ties with many of them, in particular Princess Ashraf, the shah's sister, who behaved like a real gang leader in Iran, amassing wealth at the expense of the people. Even today she possesses a considerable fortune. Reza makes himself clear on this point: "The family must not get mixed up in politics." In other words if he, Reza, does accede to the throne one day, he will not bring any family members into the government. That having been said, for the time being a number of former sycophants of the shah remain in Reza's entourage. But he has already rid himself of a good number of them.

Alain Rodier and Christian Malar also dissolve the myth of Reza the playboy, mainly involved with fighter planes and fast cars: "We're dealing here with a sober and serious young man who speaks frankly but not randomly." His opinion on religion in general and Islam in particular? "He is a believer but not a

fanatic on ritual: for him religion is essentially a highly individualistic concept. In any case, Reza is well aware that Islam is and must remain one of the pillars of Iranian society."

In the book Reza expresses himself clearly on this subject: He even admits that religious persons may exercise the right of examining the manner in which the constitution is implemented. "In a religious nation such as Iran, one must not confront the ayatollahs with a chip on one's shoulder. What bothers me is precisely the hatred for religion, for Islam that is currently developing. It is very dangerous," adds the young monarch, among other comments.

[Question] What is happening to the shabanu and her other three children? Are they involved in the political struggle as well?

[Answer] Reza does not bring them into his battle. His brother and sisters have no legal share in his responsibilities. They all live in the United States: Ali Reza, 20, is studying at Princeton University; Farahnaz, 23, is matriculated at Columbia; Leila is pursuing secondary school studies. As for the shabanu, Reza has kept up very good contacts with her; he lives an hour away from his mother's house, and they confer quite frequently. The shabanu, now 47, is probably less optimistic than he.

[Question] At the time the shah went into exile in 1979, there was a good deal of talk about the fortune he took away with him. Do you have any precise information on this matter?

[Answer] It is very difficult to obtain a precise idea. After several cross-checks, we arrived at the conclusion that Reza has about 10 million dollars at his disposal. But that cannot be confirmed, of course. In any case, it seems that reports of the so-called "colossal fortune" the shah took abroad with him were greatly exaggerated.

#### The Shah Did Not Prepare Him To Succeed Him

[Question] One fact in your book is particularly striking: Reza admits that his father virtually did not prepare him to succeed him. That seems almost impossible to believe!

[Answer] Reza told us, "In 18 years, if I add up end to end all the hours my father devoted to me, I come out with scarcely two months' time; that is, about 15 minutes a day." They practically never spoke about the problems of succession.

Today Reza can count on several sources of support, among which are the Iranian political officials in exile (such as the former prime minister, Shapur Bakhtiar and Ali Amini, the head of the Iranian Liberation Front), who will never act except by virtue of their own logic and in their own interests, however. A more unconditioned support will come from the "Reza committees" that are scattered throughout nine European countries as well as the United States, Greece, Australia and Egypt. Will that suffice one day to bring the son of the shah back to the throne? Who can say? At any rate, history is filled with examples of men who were considered finished and who one day emerged from oblivion to a definitive assertion of power. In any case, Reza has not yet uttered his final word.

PAKISTAN

U.S. AMBASSADOR'S REMARKS ON LIBYA, AFGHANISTAN REPORTED

GF301401 Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 28 Apr 86 p 1, 6

[Article by "Special press representative"]

[Text] Multan, 27 Apr -- Addressing a gathering here, U.S. Ambassador Dean R. Hinton said that information on the impending Soviet intervention in Afghanistan reached the United States through the Pakistan Government, but the then U.S. president did not consider it important. He said that the U.S. Government had realized the seriousness of the situation only 5 or 6 days after the Soviet operation in Afghanistan. In any case, he said, the United States could not stop the Soviet forces from intervening in Afghanistan. If the United States had intervened, a nuclear war may have started. He said that the United States did not consider the matter of such importance that it should risk a nuclear war.

While explaining the background of the U.S. attack on Libya, the ambassador said Libya had been indulging in acts of terrorism in various countries for a long time. Libya also attacked planes and kidnapped people. Libya also caused an attack on a U.S. night club [as published] which resulted in the death of several women and children. The United States has warned Libya several times but without any effect. In these circumstances it could not help but attack Libya, and the attack was quite justified.

He said that the United States had no hand in the secession of east Pakistan. It was due to the policies of the then government that the Bangali people had become hateful of west Pakistan. He said that it was wrong to say that in the 1971 war, the U.S. fleet could not reach Pakistan and therefore east Pakistan became Bangladesh.

The meeting was chaired by Seyyed Khavar 'ali Shah, a member of the provincial assembly, and the reception was held by Seyyed Faisal Imam, the younger brother of Seyyed Fakhr Imam, the speaker of the National Assembly, in honor of the U.S. ambassador.

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CSO: 4656/79

PAKISTAN

# JUP CHIEF DEMANDS ACCOUNTABILITY OF PRESENT REGIME

GFO20425 Rawalpindi HAIDAR in Urdu 26 Apr 86 p 1, 8

[Article by Special HAIDAR correspondent Zamir Nafis]

[Text] Rawalpindi, 25 April -- Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, president of the Jamiatul Ulema-i-Pakistan party has announced that a full account would have to be given by the present regime of the brutal treatment and the excesses perpetrated by it against the nation over the 9 years of martial law. The people concerned would also be accountable for the way in which Islam has been ridiculed and the way democracy has been crushed during the 9 years of the martial law. He was addressing a huge meeting in Lisqat Bagh today.

Maulana Noorani noted that people were chanting the slogan "General Zia is about to go, is about to go" -- but we will not let him go so easily. He is to be subjected to full accountability. The public treasury has been ransacked over the past 9 years. He said: It is the first time that Islam has been used by someone to stick to power. If martial law talks of Islam, it is to deceive the people, because martial law means ruthlessness and excesses. Islam means justice and righteousness; martial law means cruelty and despotism. Islam is the name of brotherhood.

Holding a referendum was a hoax upon the nation. Muslims were asked whether they wanted Islam or not. This was a plot against Islam and Muslims. People did not allow the plot to succeed because they did not participate in the referendum. The ballot boxes, nevertheless, were full of ballots. We have previously refused to accept these boxes of stolen ballots. How can we accept them now?

He said: They themselves jumped into the field, ran the course, and declared themselves as champions. He challenged them and said: If they think they are so popular, let them come to the forefront and fight the elections. They will, God willing, lose even their election deposits.

He said: Bhutto, also rigged the elections. We did not accept the result and people rose against him. When the matter was settled on 32 points [as published] the generals turned up marching "left, right" and jailed the national leaders. One of them said "Thank God, I have come" [refers to



General Ziaul Haq -- FBIS]. He then promised to hold elections within 90 days. He even made this promise in the house of God [Mecca -- FBIS]. Maulana Noorani continued: If the national assembly of Bhutto was illegal, then the present assembly is also illegal. We will never compromise on principles. These people betray the blood of the martyrs. They make false propaganda to deceive the people. We reject this regime. During the Bhutto era as well, candidates for election were kidnapped. During the present era the entire force of political parties has been excluded.

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PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO SPAIN--It has been officially stated in Islamabad that Agha Sadruddin Durrani has been appointed Pakistan's ambassador to Spain. [Text]  
[Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0600 GMT 3 May 86 BK]

OUTGOING MEXICAN ENVOY--The outgoing Mexican ambassador to Pakistan, Hector C. Manjarrez, made a farewell call on President Mohammad Ziaul Haq in Rawalpindi today. They exchanged views on bilateral relations and cooperation in trade and other economic fields. The president asked the envoy to convey his best wishes to the Mexican president. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 1 May 86 BK]

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JUNE 20, 1986